









THE
THREE REFORMATIONS :

Lutheran — Roman — Anglican.

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" You can easily conceive, that, when any one stands on a middle point between two others, who are, with respect to him, strictly equidistant, he must, from the inevitable laws of perspective, appear to both, not to be in the middle, but comparatively near the opposite party." — ALEXANDER KNOX.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Lecture was delivered at the Church of England Library at Rochdale, on the 8th of December, 1846; and on the 15th of the same month at the Church Institution of Leeds. As the latter Institution provided the former with its fundamental rules, and has been imitated in many places, a brief account of it is given in the appendix.

The subject of this Lecture has been further illustrated by the Author, in five sermons preached before the University of Oxford in 1837, and in "A Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation," published in 1838.

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GENTLEMEN,

The institution which I have the honour to address has an object in common with many other institutions, which have of late years sprung up in this country, that object being, to supply the industrial classes of society with the means of enjoying those pleasures which result from an acquaintance with the elegancies of literature, the philosophy of history, and the discoveries of science. Whatever has a tendency to attract man from sensual indulgences to the cultivation of the mind has a tendency also to promote civilisation; and although there are sins of the intellect as well as sins of the body, for which we shall have hereafter to give an account, and although, therefore, mental culture does not of necessity imply moral excellence, yet it is upon the civilised mind that Christianity is brought to bear:—

“ Prowess and arts did tame
And tune men’s hearts before the Gospel came ;
Strength levell’d grounds ; art made a garden there ;
Then shower’d religion, and made all to bear ;”

and consequently such institutions as these must be regarded with interest by all who have the promotion of God's glory and the welfare of their fellow-creatures at heart. Man consists of body, mind, and soul ($\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$): there are food and exercise for the body; there is grace for the soul; let there be the pursuits of literature and science for the mind.

For the corporeal part of our nature let us do what in us lies to prevent the people from being overworked; let us adopt those sanatory measures which are needful, in order that our noble Saxon race may not degenerate into pigmies; and while we value the commercial interests of our country, let us never forget that the object of the true patriot will be to promote not merely the wealth of the few but the welfare of the millions; for the souls of our brethren let us go on erecting sanctuaries and providing the means of grace; let us build schools, train schoolmasters, and multiply such institutions as this, that men may improve their minds, and in the intervals of labour taste the delights of mental recreation.

But in many institutions, professing the same objects as yours, one branch of literature and science is excluded, namely, theology. And yet among the sciences theology is the most important; and if we exclude from our library the works of our theologians, we exclude a large portion of the philosophy, the metaphysics, the eloquence, and the poetry of our country. There seems to be no ground in reason for acting thus. The ambition of forming one large association is very attractive, but surely it is not an

object for which it is worth our while to make a sacrifice so great as that to which I have alluded. It is far better to attempt the formation of many smaller institutions, all constituted on definite principles, but encouraging friendly intercourse; and we may be sure that whenever the line of demarcation is clearly drawn, intercourse between disagreeing parties becomes practicable and easy: it is not by concealing differences, but by stating them candidly, and knowing clearly the points upon which we must agree to differ, that we further the cause of charity as well as of truth. Each separate society would be a gainer, for better lectures would be obtained. The restraint under which a lecturer is placed when his subject trenches upon theology, and he is afraid to give utterance to the sentiment which suggests itself to his mind, lest he should seem to encroach upon the religious neutrality professed by the society he addresses, must do damage to his own soul, while it deteriorates the character of his lecture. And the lecture given at one institution might be open to the members of all similar institutions, who would attend with a knowledge beforehand of the bias of the lecturer's mind, and would have, in consequence, no ground of complaint when the lecturer expresses himself freely according to principles not inculcated by inuendo but openly avowed. (Note A.)

But however this may appear to others, I feel it to be a satisfaction that I am now addressing a literary and scientific association where I may speak freely as a theologian. It is, indeed, only as a theologian that you can have requested me to address you this even-

ing ; for you must know enough of the duties of a working clergyman in a manufacturing district to be aware that he can have but little time for any literary and scientific pursuits, except those which bear upon his immediate duties. A clergyman is, indeed, pledged to this. Although he may have a general acquaintance with many subjects, since this is needful in order to know any one subject perfectly, yet it is only on one subject that ordinary minds can be really learned so as to be able to instruct others ; that subject being the one to which their powers, such as they are, have been especially directed. It is from a forgetfulness of this, that there is truth in the line which has become proverbial, “ A little learning is a dangerous thing.” It is dangerous, because the conceited sciolist mistakes his *little* for *much*. Take your own profession, trade, or calling in life, and deliver to us a discourse upon it, or upon some subject connected with it, and whatever it may be, or however ungrammatical your expression, you will be heard with respectful attention. We should listen with satisfaction to a shoemaker discoursing on the art of making shoes, and expatiating on his discoveries in the cordwainer’s department of science ; but if that person, from the perusal of a few books upon astronomy, were to open a lecture-room at Cambridge, and to pretend to throw fresh light upon the solar system, we could protect him neither from the silent contempt of the professors, nor from the noisy mirth of the undergraduates. A wise man knows when to be silent as well as when to speak ; and a little learning on many subjects is not dangerous, if, mindful that it is but little we know,

we approach them as a relaxation and amusement, and give our mind in its vigour to that one subject to which, by the Providence of God, we are called to devote ourselves.

It is on this *ne sutor ultra crepidam* principle that I intend to select for my lecture this evening a subject which could not, with propriety, be handled in a sermon, or, at all events, not in sufficient detail ; but which, nevertheless, is one of such importance that no apology can be necessary for bringing it under the notice of those who, being members of a Church Institution, ought to be reminded of the singular advantages they possess in being members of that pure and apostolical branch of the Church which is the bulwark not of the Reformation only, but of Catholicism itself.

What may be the office assigned in the secret counsels of God to that pure and reformed branch of the Church to which we have the happiness to belong, we, of course, know not: that our Church may be destined to be the preserver and restorer of the faith, when Antichrist shall have appeared, and when the predicted falling away shall have occurred — this may be only a dream, though it be a dream in which the dutiful children of our dear and holy mother may be permitted to indulge without giving offence ; but be that as it may, this is quite certain, that we, whether ministers or people, clergy or laity, can only do God's work in this Church of England by adhering firmly and consistently to the principles of our Church as laid down at the glorious and blessed epoch of the Reformation. This I have said to Ultra-Protes-

tants*, and this I will continue to say to Romanizers ; and, in despite of the cavils of either extreme, honest Church-of-England men must march straight onward in the *via media*, that straight and narrow path, between miscalled Evangelicalism and miscalled Catholicism, which leadeth unto truth. (Note B.)

It is to the era of the Reformation that all parties must refer, not because to the Reformers, erring and sinful men, any peculiar deference is due, but because at that time were settled the principles which have developed themselves in Ultra-Protestantism, Romanism, and Anglicanism. I include Romanism, for the present Church of Rome was reformed at the Council of Trent ; and our real dispute with Rome is simply this, — whether her reformation or ours was conducted on the proper principle. To the three Reformations, therefore, the Lutheran, the Roman, and the Anglican, after a few preliminary observations, I propose to call your attention.

Long before the Reformation took place, a reformation of the Church was demanded by the moral sense of mankind, as every one will admit who is even moderately acquainted with the history of the middle ages. Much pains have been taken within the last few years to vindicate the character of the middle ages from the unmitigated censures of the historians of the last century, who wrote without sufficiently examining the subject. By no one has this been done so efficiently as by the learned Mr. Maitland : it

* See the author's "Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation;" and his "Five Sermons before the University of Oxford."

would have been well if those who have followed him had always been guided by that good common sense which is as remarkable in him as his learning. But some persons have appeared among us who have concluded that, because the middle ages were not so dark as they were regarded by our immediate ancestors, they must have been one blaze of light. When we look at the magnificent minsters and the gorgeous cathedrals by which not only our own country but all Europe is adorned, we shall not think scorn of the artists whose skill we have hitherto been unable to equal: but when we discover the misery, splendid or sordid, in which the mass of the people lived, our admiration of those "good old times" is considerably diminished. We permit our imagination to gaze with delight on the gentle knight in his panoply, "pricking on the plain," but the very fact of his having to go forth armed *cap-à-pié* as the redresser of wrongs, bears silent testimony to the disturbed state of the country, and the miseries resulting from the want of a police. When the student opens the volumes of the schoolmen, he admires the acuteness of intellect which prevailed among them, and the care with which the mind was cultivated; but when he reads in Bossuet what comes with double force from him, because it comes in the light of an admission, that "they preferred for the most part to proceed on philosophical reasonings of the worst description rather than consult the fathers*," his respect for them as theologians is considerably diminished. And this becomes still

* Bossuet, *Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallic.* Lib. viii. cxi.

more the case when he learns from Fleury that "it was the misfortune of the doctors of the 13th and 14th centuries to know very little of the works of the fathers, especially the more ancient; to be deficient in the aids necessary for well understanding them;" that "the generality of students, even of divines, limited themselves to few books, chiefly to those of modern authors, whom they understood better than the ancients *:" nor will he forget what the Abbé Goujet observes, that "they did not engage in the study of Scripture, even in the schools of theology, except with lukewarmness; and they often contented themselves with imperfect extracts from it, found in the writings of some theologian of little solidity, which they put in the hands of those they wish to apply to theological science." "The theologians who preceded the 14th century, and were after the time of St. Bernard or St. Thomas, had deprived themselves of an advantage in abandoning, or, at least, neglecting, so much the study of the fathers, both Greek and Latin." †

I request you to bear in mind what is here said by Roman Catholic writers—an admission on their part of the inefficiency of the theologians of the middle ages; for the importance of this admission will be presently apparent.

But religion, it will be said, sound morals, reverence, devotion, these were characteristic of the middle ages.

* Fleury, Cinquième Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

† Goujet in "Fleury's Discourses on Eccles. Hist." See Palmer's "Essay on the Church."

Let us see what those who lived in those ages thought upon this subject. We admit

“ That many hooded Cenobites there were
 Who in their private cells had yet a care
 Of public quiet, unambitious men,
 Counsellors for the world, of piercing ken ;
 Whose fervent exhortations from afar
 Moved princes to their duty, peace or war ;
 And oft-times in the most forbidding den
 Of solitude, with love of science strong,
 Most patiently the yoke of thought they bare.”

Such men were Bradwardine, Bishop Pecock, William of Wykeham, and Waynflete. Undoubtedly there were many such ; but to what great object were the most fervent exhortations of these great men addressed ? It was to the reformation of the Church. The dissolution of morals, the irreverence in all that pertained to religion, the venality of the prelates, the immorality of the clergy, were such that the hearts of the righteous were afflicted, and their exertions paralysed : “ Oh ! that I might see the Church,” says St. Bernard, writing to his friend and former pupil, Eugenius III., now on the papal throne — “ Oh ! that I might see the Church, before I die, as it was in the days of the apostles, who made it their business to win, not silver and gold, but souls ! How earnestly do I desire to hear from you the apostle’s sentence, ‘ Thy money perish with thee ! ’ Oh ! word of thunder ! at which all the enemies of Zion should arise and flee away. And this doth your mother the Church require of you. For this doth her children, small and great, continually sigh ; *namely, that you would root out every plant* which your heavenly Father hath not

planted; for you are set over nations and kingdoms" (he had exaggerated ideas of papal power) "to root out and to destroy, and to build up and to plant. Yet, in all your undertakings, remember that you are but a man; and let the fear of Him that taketh away the breath of princes be ever before your eyes."*

What, indeed, was the moral state of society at that time may be gathered from a single fact, that Heloise expressed her disinclination to marry Abelard, because, as his mistress, she would every where be received with honour; whereas he, as a married ecclesiastic, would be treated with scorn, and excluded from preferment.† The constrained celibacy of the clergy had, indeed, not only corrupted the whole clerical order, but had demoralised the world. A reformation of the Church, in its head and its members, became a cry throughout Europe. It originated with a cardinal—it was repeated by the Emperor—it was reiterated by kings and princes—it was re-echoed by the serfs and peasants. "To reform the Church, in its head and its members," the Councils of Pisa and of Constance were convoked; and in order more fully to impress upon your minds the error of those who refer us to the middle ages, as to ages of peculiar excellence in morality and religion, I shall present you with an account of the moral and religious condition

* Bern. Epist. 257. ad Eugen.

† A married clerk was in all respects reputed as a layman, saving that if he kept his habit and tonsure he could be examined, according to the canon law, before no secular judge; and if any one laid violent hands on him, he was excommunicated *ipso facto*. See *Johnson's Eccles. Canons*, 1416.

of the people, as given by persons of high ecclesiastical rank and dignity, selected to preach before the assembled fathers of the Council of Constance, by whom their assertions were neither refuted nor censured. The Council was opened on the 5th, and the first session was held on the 13th, of November, 1414. I will not refer to John Huss, whose cruel death, under an act of unexampled injustice, is itself a testimony against the age, because he might be considered as an exceptionable witness; but I will refer to the sermon of Matthew Roeder, Professor of Divinity in the College of Navarre, at Paris, which was delivered before the Council on the 30th of December. He expresses his astonishment, that so many wise and understanding men had been supported in such horrible licentiousness as he expresses in two verses, which are characteristic of the taste of the age. Every noun of the first verse is the nominative to the verb under it in the second —

| | | | | |
|----------|---------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Virtus, | Ecclesia, | Populus, | Dæmon, | Simonia, |
| Cessat, | turbatur, | errat, | regnat, | dominatur, |
| Virtue, | the Church, | the People, | the Devil, | Simony, |
| Is fled, | is disturbed, | erreth, | reigneth, | governeth.* |

“ The truth is,” said Paul l’Anglois, a school-doctor of those times, “ that the whole court of Rome, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, is blinded with manifest and public error. It has made almost all the parts of the world drunk with the poison of its errors, as if it thought to measure out the divine Almighty Power after its own fancy.

* Lenfant, i. lv.

Every body murmurs at it, though nobody openly complains.”*

The eighteenth session of the Council was held on the 17th of August, 1415 ; and the day after, Bertrand Vasher preached a sermon on the necessity of the reformation of the Church, exhorting the Council to make use of the most speedy and effectual means to correct abuses, “ especially the insatiable avarice, the untameable ambition, the shameful laziness, and the execrable pride of the clergy.” On the 8th of September, the preacher, after inveighing against the corruptions of the clergy, complains that “ the sacraments used to be piously administered, whereas they had now fallen into contempt, and were profaned.” In the same month another preacher remarks, “ When a prelate is consecrated, they ask him if he knows the Old and New Testament ? I’ll be judged by most of them whether they can affirm it with a safe conscience.” He urges the necessity of a reformation, and quotes largely from St. Bernard, who, in his commentary on the *Song of Songs*, was particularly severe upon the corruption of the times. On the 25th of October, we find the Bishop of Lodi representing the clergy as so plunged in excessive luxury, and such disgraceful incontinency, that he thinks if Diogenes were to seek for a man among them, he would find none but black cattle and swine. He mentions a circumstance which had occurred a few days before, when a priest of Constance, who had just been saying vespers, was assassinated in the open

* Quoted by Lenfant, book iii.

street by a citizen on horseback, who, when he had struck the blow, rode off at full speed. "It was but too natural for such accidents to happen in so great a crowd of people, and at a time when the clergy, by their ill example," as he observes, "gave full toleration to the laity, of whom they fell not short in acts of violence, any more than in all other enormities." Equally strong on the necessity of a reformation was Hottric Abendon, an Englishman, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, who preached before the Council on the following Sunday. On the 16th of February, 1416, Theodoric of Minster preached in full council, when he accused the clergy of neglecting the study of the Holy Scriptures for the sake of applying only to the canon law and the decretals, because there they learn how to get money. In these days, said the preacher, "the positive laws (the canon law, the decretals, and the constitutions of the popes,) are advanced above the law of God and the commandments of Jesus Christ." The preacher only said in prose what Dante says in verse —

"The accursed love of coin
Hath driven from the field both sheep and lambs:
The shepherd turned into a wolf. For this,
The Gospel and great teachers laid aside,
The decretals, as their stuff'd margins show,
Are the sole study: pope and cardinals,
All bent on these, think not of Nazareth,
Where Gabriel lighted down on golden wing."

Upon the day of Epiphany, 1417, the preacher denounced the sins of the clergy and the people, and, among other things, accused them of neglecting the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and the preaching of

the Gospel. On the 17th of January, the celebrated Gerson preached; and being unable to compress all his matter within the limits of a sermon, he published what he intended to say as a pamphlet, in which, without despising the decretals, he expresses his regret that they should be preferred to the word of God; and he remarks, “among those people who are called religious by way of eminence, you will see the transgression of certain constitutions, which are sometimes very frivolous, punished with much more severity than the transgression of the law of God Himself, as murder or perjury.”

In June of this year, Stephen of Prague, a professor of divinity, alluding to the way in which preferments were disposed of, asks, “Is it just for fools to preside, and for wise men to obey? that boys should command, and grey beards be their lackeys? that ignoramuses should have the charge of the most delicate affairs, and scholars not dare to open their lips? that grooms should be preferred to doctors and preachers of God’s word? There,” he exclaimed, “is the fruit of simony!”

In August, a French abbot, called Bernard the Baptized, thus describes the state of society:—“I am sorry to say it, that in our days the Catholic faith is reduced to nothing; hope is turned into rash presumption, and the law of God and our neighbour is quite extinct. In the laity falsehood bears the chief sway, and avarice is the rule of the clergy. In the Church the flock is divided. In the prelates there is nothing but malice, iniquity, negligence, ignorance, vanity, pride, covetousness, simony, lasciviousness,

pomp, and hypocrisy. At the pope's court there is no sanctity; law-suits and quarrels being the happiness of that court, and imposture its delight. Tyranny, rapaciousness, and simony are practised in every part of it. It is a diabolical court."

This person preached evidently under the impulse of excited feelings; but admitting some exaggeration, what must have been the real state of things when this was an approximation to the truth? Another doctor, whose name was Theobald, delivered a sermon a few days after on the same subject: this discourse was in a milder strain, but this only gives the sharper point to his invectives. He reproaches the clergy for not administering the sacraments except for money, and for letting people die without the viaticum, if they had not wherewithal to pay the priest. "As to their expenses, they would rather spend their money in fools, harlequins, harlots, fiddlers, flatterers, dogs, and birds, than give to the poor. Contrary to the sacred canons, they frequent taverns and houses of ill-fame: they openly keep concubines in their houses; and, notwithstanding the most gross vice, make no scruple to celebrate the holy communion."

"It has become a proverb," he says, "that the prelates keep as many mistresses as they have domestics; and do not suppose," he adds, "that your shame can be concealed, for your mistresses publicly boast of it." "The convents of women, which, according to the canons, ought absolutely to be shut up from the men, are public places, and theatres and receptacles for vanity. If any great men are scrupulous of going into them, they send presents, dishes

of meat, letters, and invitations to the nuns to come to their houses. What passes there it were a shame to tell, but it is a greater shame to do. The most deplorable case of all is, that the court of Rome, which ought to set an example, commits all these abominations; and even in this place, where an assembly is held for the reformation of morals.” *

If it be said that these must have been hyperbolical expressions, let me remind you that they were uttered by dignitaries of the Church before a general council. Could any one of our bishops, at the present day, make any accusation against the Church of England approaching to this, before the House of Lords, without being silenced at once? Every one would be a witness that such is not the state of society in England; and therefore, when we find that preacher after preacher thus described the state of things in the middle ages uncontradicted and unrebuked, our admiration of the middle ages, and the wonderful effects which mediæval religion produced, must greatly decrease, if it be not entirely annihilated. Peter D’Ailli, Cardinal of Cambray, one of the great luminaries of the 15th century, who wrote with more moderation than most of his contemporaries, declares that it was the common saying at that time, “that the Church was come to such a pass that the government of it was only fit for reprobates.” †

* Vander Hart, tom. i. p. 898.

† Adeo ut jam horrendum quorundam proverbium sit, ad hunc statum venisse ecclesiam, ut non sit digna regi nisi per reprobos. — *Alliac. Canon. Reform. ap. V. d. Hardt*, tom. i. p. 424.

Well, indeed, might Dante sing —

“ Of shepherds such as you, the Evangelist
Was ware, when her who sits upon the waves
With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld ;
She, who with seven heads tower'd at her birth ;
And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
Long, as her spouse, in virtue took delight.
Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
Differing wherein from the idolater,
But that he worships one, an hundred ye ?
Oh, Constantine ! of how much ill was cause
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope received of thee.”

Inferno, cant. xix. (Note C.)

It is pleasant to find the practical mind of an Englishman brought to bear upon the subject ; and, while the others were making their complaints, suggesting the remedy. In a treatise by Richard Allerton, a doctor of Oxford, dedicated to the Bishop of Salisbury, after uniting with others in censuring the iniquity of the age, the author concludes with saying, “ Things being thus disposed in their natural order, and all those abuses taken away, the Pope, according to the duty of his office, will make it his business to procure peace among the Christians ; to preach the Gospel himself, and to send out sound preachers to all parts, who, by their preaching and example, may teach both prelates and people their several duties, and make a holy war against their passions, which, according to St. James, are the source of divisions and wars in church and state.”

I may be pardoned for a short digression, interesting to Englishmen, which shows that geographical

knowledge was certainly not among the accomplishments of the middle ages. An attempt was made by the French, at the Council of Constance, to refuse to the English the rank of a nation : it was contended that they were, though an independent *kingdom*, to vote as part of the German *nation*. This impertinence on the part of our jealous neighbours, who, unable to compete with us in the field, tried to outwit us in diplomacy, was duly resented by our ancestors. They proclaimed England to be inferior in no respect to the kingdom of France, either as to extent, dignity, or antiquity. As to extent, they computed that, “ taking England from north to south, it extends 800 English miles—that is to say, forty days’ journey—which France does not, according to common estimation. Besides, the English nation has eight kingdoms; namely, England, Scotland, and Wales, all which together make Great Britain; Ireland, and four other kingdoms which be near England; the Orkney Islands, which are sixty in number, and which are as large, if not larger, than the kingdom of France; thirty-two counties; fifty-two thousand parish churches, besides cathedral and collegiate churches, priories, hospitals; whereas in France there are not above six thousand parochial churches, and only four or five counties. It is true,” they continue, “ that the French reckon eleven provinces and one hundred and thirty-five dioceses in their nation; but, admitting their calculation to be just, if so small a difference authorises them to deprive England of the right of making a nation in the Council,

the Italians have much more reason to controvert the right of France to make such a nation, because Italy has three hundred and thirteen dioceses." The right of the English to be regarded as a nation was conceded; and we cannot but admit that if their skill at the long bow bested them at Agincourt, they were equally skilful in the use of it at Constance.* Verily the fathers of Constance must have thought that the prediction of Seneca was fulfilled: —

"Venient annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus."

So strong was the feeling at Constance with reference to the need of a reformation, that the Council did not separate before it had passed a decree that "the frequent holding of these councils being the best way to prevent heresies and schisms, to correct enormities, to reform abuses, and to maintain the Church in a flourishing condition, General Councils ought to be held often; that there should be one in five years, then one in seven, and afterwards one every ten years."

If the ambition and wickedness of popes had not frustrated the designs of the Council, it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the result of the decree, or to calculate on the blessing of which a simultaneous and unanimous movement in the cause

* See Lenfant, lib. iv. 19. See Lenfant also for the authorities before quoted, lib. i. 55., iv. 11. 27. 30. 36. 46. 64., v. 4, 5. 47. 60., vii. passim. See also Herman Vander Hart, *Acta Concil. Const.*

of reformation might have brought upon the Churches of the West.

It has not been because it was necessary to prove that a reformation had long been demanded in Europe that I have suffered myself to be led into these details ; but it has been to show you that the earth was not that Paradise in the middle ages which some who are not firm friends to the Church of England would represent it to have been, and which others, in dreamy ignorance, take for granted. This is a fiction of modern times — the effect of that re-action of the mind to which I have alluded upon the discovery that those ages were not such ages of ignorance as some historians had supposed, and that, amidst the gloom of immorality, some persons were conspicuous for their saintly virtues — virtues which shone forth the more conspicuously as the stars shine brightest when the sky is most dark.

A translation of the Colloquies of Erasmus would be a useful and interesting work to enlighten the public mind upon this subject ; a subject upon which all who are acquainted with the history of the ages which preceded the Reformation are agreed. What, indeed, are the very first words of the most popular book of the most subtle of Roman Catholic controversialists, Bossuet ? “ A reformation,” he says, “ of ecclesiastical discipline had been desired several ages since.” Alluding to the strong desire of St. Bernard to see a reformation effected, he says, “ If this holy man had any thing to regret at his death, it was, that he had not witnessed so happy a change. During his whole life he bewailed the evils of the Church ; he

never ceased to admonish the people, the clergy, the bishops, the popes, of them. Nor did he conceal his sentiments on the subject from his own religious, who partook of his affliction in their solitude, and extolled the Divine goodness, in having drawn them to it, so much the more gratefully as the world was more universally corrupted. *Disorders still increased since that time.*" After alluding to the Council of Pisa and that of Constance, of which you have heard so much, the great prelate of Meaux proceeds:— "What happened at the Council of Basil, where a reformation was unfortunately eluded, and the Church re-involved in new divisions, is well known. The disorders of the clergy, chiefly those of Germany, were presented forcibly in this manner to Eugenius IV. by Cardinal Julian. 'These disorders,' he said, 'excite the hatred of the people against the whole ecclesiastical order, and, should they not be corrected, it is to be feared that the laity, like the Hussites, should rise against the clergy, as they loudly threaten us.' If the clergy of Germany were not quickly reformed, he predicted that after the heresy of Bohemia, and when it would be extinct, another, still more dangerous, would succeed; for it will be said, proceeded he, 'that the clergy are incorrigible, and will apply no remedy to their disorders. When they shall have no longer hopes of amendment,' said this great cardinal, 'then will they fall upon us. The minds of men are pregnant with expectation of what measures will be adopted, and are ready for the birth of something tragic. The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest; they will soon think it an agree-

able sacrifice to God to abuse and rob ecclesiastics, as abandoned to extreme disorders, and hateful to God and man. The *little* respect now remaining for the ecclesiastical orders will soon be extinguished. Men will cast the blame of these abuses on the courts of Rome, which will be considered the cause of them, because it had neglected to apply the necessary remedy.' He afterwards spoke more emphatically. 'I see,' said he, 'the axe is at the root: the tree begins to bend; and, instead of propping it whilst in our power, we accelerate its fall!' He foresees a speedy desolation on the German clergy. The desire of depriving them of their temporal goods would form the first spring of motion. 'Bodies and souls,' said he, 'will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is accustomed to do with those whom he destines for punishment: we run into the fire which we see lighted before us.' " *

Oh! awful picture of a profligate clergy dreading the vengeance of a people they had demoralised! Oh! vain boasting of Romanists, when they themselves admit these to be the fruit of Romanism unchecked! Oh! ignorance of Romanizers, when they attribute to the Reformation those schisms and heresies of which the want of timely reformation was the real cause!

I have given you a description of the ante-reformation Church in the words of a Roman cardinal, as quoted by the most eminent of Roman Catholic controversialists.

Hope delayed maketh the heart sick. The

* Bossuet, lib. i. 1.

churches of the West being enslaved by the usurpations of the court of Rome, for many years notorious for pre-eminence in wickedness, and the policy of that court being to oppose all attempts at reformation, what ought to have been legally and systematically accomplished was, at last, when the abuses became perfectly intolerable, attempted by a German monk, whose moral sense had been insulted by the nefarious sale of indulgences, authorised by the cupidity of a luxurious and infidel pontiff.

When Martin Luther commenced the German Reformation, he appeared simply as an opposer of abuses. He had no system, no plan : whatever may have been his subsequent conduct, or whatever the deficiencies of his character, he made a noble stand, for which all the world must be grateful, against wickedness in high places, and against a system which, in the name of Heaven, was doing the work of hell. It is a page of history which every one must read with thrilling interest, that which tells of one poor monk daring the fulminations of the Vatican, when those fulminations were not, as now, like thunder unattended with lightning, but, though innocuous to the soul of the upright, were as sounds preceding the destruction of the poor victim at whom they were aimed. His was not a malignant feeling, such as too often animates those who, without danger to their persons but rather with much to gratify their vanity, declaim, in these days, on platforms, against Popery, of the real nature of which they are too often ignorant : his was a stand against existing and acknowledged and practical evils, made at the peril of his life. I am no apologist for

Martin Luther; his character deteriorated as he advanced in his career, and his conduct was sometimes as reprehensible as that of his opponents. But still he was a magnanimous man; and I will defy the student of ecclesiastical history who has proceeded from the primitive through the mediæval historians not to be excited, even to enthusiasm, when his heart, made sorrowful by the record of the Church's gradual corruption, is cheered by the exhibition of one mind, representing the mind of millions, but distinguished from others by its own resolution, saying to the waters of corruption, "You may overwhelm me, but further ye shall not go."

As a destructive movement, Luther's was most important; but when he was led by the force of circumstances to constructive measures, he was found to fail. He had not the patience, the meekness, the learning, the devoutness of mind necessary for such a work. And yet, considering all things, we can scarcely see how he could have acted otherwise. He married his own mind, as it were, to the mind of one who possessed the qualifications in which he must have been conscious that he was himself deficient. The chief fault of Philip Melancthon was, that he suffered himself to be overborne too often by the impetuosity of Martin Luther, and that his judgment sometimes quailed before the proud will, not always reasonable, of the elder reformer.

By the school of theologians thus formed, a system of divinity was produced; and Luther demanded its acceptance by all who were driven, like himself, out of the Church of Rome; and now it was that the self-

will and strong temper which excited our sympathy when resisting abuses became intolerant, so that the vehemence of Luther against all who refused to be Lutherans exceeded that which he had displayed against the Romanists. His admirers attempt to slur over this last portion of his history ; and we must certainly admit that his contemporary Protestants bore his infirmities with kindness, though sometimes, as was natural, with impatience. The impartial Christian who cares not for Luther, but regards him only as an instrument in the hands of Him who orders all human events, is as free to censure Luther as Luther himself was to censure others, and may think it important to do so, lest to the name of an uninspired individual too much importance should be attached.

When Martin Luther endeavoured to force his theological system upon mankind, the question was fairly asked, Why are we to receive this system, and this system only ? And the only answer was, That this system commends itself as scriptural to those great minds whom I have associated with my own. Luther knew that truth is one ; that there cannot be two opposing interpretations of Scripture, both of them correct. He said, " Here is the Bible, and here is the right interpretation of the Bible, or scriptural doctrines drawn up systematically by learned men, who, emancipated from Romish prejudices, have been able impartially to investigate the subject." He seems to have been not only exasperated but surprised, when Zuinglius and the Swiss reformers, considering themselves, whether justly or not, the equals of Luther and Melancthon in learning, produced a

system differing from theirs upon points which they had regarded as indisputable, and even controverting their view of the sacraments.

It is evident that nothing was further from the mind of Luther and Melancthon than to admit the doctrine of private judgment; by which I mean the notion that not only the Scripture is to be taken as the rule of faith, but that each man, whether learned or unlearned, is to place his own construction upon it, and to act according to the opinions so formed. And yet, though he would be among the foremost to denounce such a notion, he is the real author of this the principle of modern ultra-protestantism. He did not perceive the vice of his own principle; but, as a practical man, he could not be blind to the evil consequences of dividing the reformers; and, as is usually the case, while he could not deny the right of the Swiss reformers to do as he had done himself, he became impassioned, and rendered himself, as I have just said, an object of pity from his impotent intolerance. The evil in his principle did not fully develop itself until he was removed from the arena of controversy in which his life had been passed. He had asserted the supremacy of the Bible; but insisted that on essential points, and especially on the doctrine of the sacraments, the Bible should be received in the sense attached to it by himself and his compeers. He did not perceive that men had a right to ask, *why* are we to defer to you and the theologians of your school? And when the question was indirectly asked, he answered the querists by a torrent of abuse. The Swiss reformers contended that they were as com-

petent as the reformers of Germany to interpret Scripture; but even with them the doctrine of private judgment, as held now, was scarcely recognised, if at all. The question was one between system and system; and the appeal was made not to the common mind but to the learned. What was done by Luther and Melancthon, Zuinglius and Calvin had clearly a right to do; and when Socinus proceeded in an attempt to demonstrate, from Scripture, that the God of the Christian church is not the God of revelation; when, by the presumed authority of Scripture, he introduced into the world another Gospel and another God, in what spirit was he met? Let the flames which consumed the body of Servetus give the answer.

But persecution was never yet successful in preventing conscientious men from carrying out a recognised principle to its legitimate consequences. If the principle of Calvin was right, Socinus and Servetus were justifiable, however intellectually erroneous, in the course they pursued. Although Calvin did not discover the vice of his principle, his acute mind must have suspected it of unsoundness, or he would not have resorted to the bloody argument by which he silenced Servetus, or have written previously to Socinus thus: "Let me beg of you seriously, as I have often done, to correct in yourself *this love of inquiry*, which may bring you into trouble." *

It was clear to impartial men that Calvin had a right to do what was acknowledged to be a right on

* Da Pin.

the part of Luther, and that the same privilege which was exercised by Calvin was allowable to Socinus. They said to their followers, Here is the Bible, and the Bible only, for our guide; but you must receive the Bible as we interpret it. Why? Because we are learned men. Thus they saved themselves from the perplexities in which they would have been involved if they had conceded to all others the right they claimed for themselves: they silenced the multitude by reminding them that a few only could be learned, and that to the decisions of the learned they ought to defer. This was the principle upon which the Protestant confessions of faith were grounded — the Bible, and the opinion of learned Protestants.

But there are always men of considerable powers of mind, and even of genius, who have not patience to acquire a sufficiency of learning to render them competent to decide upon questions upon which, nevertheless, they form a judgment, while they have ability to defend with eloquence, if not by argument, the opinions they have adopted. These were not, as education advanced and brought the minds of men nearer to an equality, to be silenced; but individual preachers arose, who claimed for themselves that right of judgment which had been assumed by Luther and Calvin. Were they met by the assertion, that these and their associates were learned men, the opponent was silenced by an assumption of divine illumination. They prayed to God, and by God they affirmed that they were taught; forgetting, or not heeding, that the illumination promised in Scripture is a *moral* illumi-

nation, not an *intellectual*, or only so far intellectual as the intellect is improved as the soul becomes sanctified. Moral tempers and dispositions will be granted to us in answer to our prayers, but not an intellectual power to decide between two opposing schemes of doctrine, which is and which is not scriptural. (Note D.) This distinction, however, being lost sight of, the principle of Luther's Reformation has been gradually developed into that theory which makes the Bible say any thing or nothing — the theory, that the Bible is to be received by each individual, and is then to be interpreted according to the caprice of his private judgment; a theory by which we can educe from one and the same passage of Scripture the most contradictory assertions.

Such is the development of the principle of the Lutheran Reformation, which having commenced with all the high doctrines of Catholicism, especially in what relates to the sacraments, when legitimately carried out, subsides into Rationalism. The school of theology which has resulted from this reformation is the ultra-Protestant, embracing the Puritan extreme on the one side, and the Rationalist extreme on the other. The Puritan holds the dogmas of Calvin, and many Catholic truths, because these commend themselves to his private judgment; and Rationalists, for the same reason, reject all but the Bible itself, yea even sometimes the Bible too as an inspired book. They diverge to opposite extremes, but they commence on the same principle, and combine to raise a moral persecution against all who venture to dis-

credit the principle, or to think that a deference to authority is required in all who seek the truth.

And here I cannot but remark in passing upon the extreme wretchedness of that person who holds the right of private judgment, and yet ventures to call another a heretic. This “accuser of the brethren” uses an obnoxious word, merely to indulge the malignity of his heart against an opponent. If you recognise the principle of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, you can have no possible right to accuse another of heresy because his private judgment differs from your own, whether it be on the side of Rome or on the side of Socinus. Whenever the word heresy is used by such a one it betrays a malignant spirit, such as has been too often exhibited by ultra-Protestantism, from the day when Calvin murdered Servetus, down to the present age of religious newspapers — the most irreligious of all publications.

The word *αἵρεσις* signifies choice or election. Of the various systems of opinion brought before a Greek by the philosophers, one was chosen: he exercised his choice upon one, and this was his heresy. When the word passed into the Church it was used by the primitive Christians to distinguish those who, upon points of doctrine on which doubts had been raised, considered the various interpretations of Scripture which had been suggested, and adopted that which commended itself to their private judgment — from Catholics or orthodox Christians, who instead of making choice amidst many interpretations, accepted that which had been handed down by tradition from

the apostles through the fathers. He was considered orthodox who in the study of Scriptures took the Church for his guide, and in humility renounced his private judgment when it was shown to him that it did not accord with her teaching. He, on the other hand, was accounted as a heretic who, receiving the Bible, put upon it his own interpretation, and obstinately maintained it by argument, even though his conclusions were such as the Church condemned. The term became odious, because it was considered to be disgraceful not to be in communion with the Church; but an odious term will only be applied by Christians when a strong necessity compels them. I must beg you to bear this little digression in mind, as it will elucidate what I shall have presently to say with reference to the English reformers.

In the mean time I must advert to the Church of Rome. How great were the corruptions acknowledged by Romanists to exist in the middle ages, and down to the time of the Reformation, you have already heard. You have also heard how unwilling the popes of Rome were to meet the evil or to correct the abuses, the existence of which they could not deny. But they were at length obliged to yield: the emperor, and other princes who still adhered to the Roman obedience, were so urgent in demanding a council, in order that the Church might be reformed, that at last grudgingly and of necessity, that assembly was held at Trent, which, though called a Council, does not deserve the name.* It was convoked to

* The Gallican bishops, with many of the Spaniards and Italians, insisted that the words "representing the universal Church"

effect a reformation ; and the result of that reformation is what is now denominated Romanism.

It is the boast of Bossuet, that, by those celebrated doctors who called most vehemently for a reformation in the middle ages, no one ever thought of “changing the faith of the Church, or of correcting her worship.” As an argument, this assertion is not of much weight. Luther had no thought of interfering with the established doctrines of the Church when he commenced his career. His virtuous indignation was first aroused by a palpable abuse in the mode of granting indulgences. This led him to the consideration of the whole question of indulgences, and thence to the root of the evil—the gainful doctrine of purgatory, which he found to be a doctrine unknown in the primitive ages, and clearly unscriptural. It was thus that he proceeded with respect to other doctrines : perceiving the evil fruit, he traced it to an evil root. And we may fairly suppose that the medieval reformers would have been thus led on to an examination of the doctrine and worship of the Roman Church, had not their endeavours to commence a Reformation been frustrated by the artifices of the court of Rome.

should be added to the title of the Council of Trent. This, however, the papal legates refused, remembering that such had been the form in the Councils of Constance at Basle ; and fearing lest, if this addition were made, the rest of the form of Constance and Basle might follow, viz. “which derives its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and to which every person of whatever dignity, not excepting the Pope, is bound to yield obedience.” This is remarkable as a fact. The student will find “Landon’s Manual of Councils” a valuable work.

But the assertion of Bossuet is correct as relating to the work attempted at the Council of Trent. A reformation of discipline was there effected; but as to doctrine, the simple question was, not what ought to be, but what *is*, the doctrine received in the Church. The Trentine doctors only attempted to reduce to form the doctrines then current, and either assisted or assented to the Roman pontiff and councils convened by him in the middle ages. They were obliged, in their principles, to such a course. They confounded the Church of Rome with the Church Catholic, and so predicated of Rome infallibility. They could not correct, therefore, the medieval theology either by primitive doctrine or by Scripture; for, though they regarded the primitive Church as infallible, they regarded the medieval Church as equally infallible: the doctrine of the primitive Church was therefore to be explained away, in order that it might be rendered conformable with medieval theology; because, of course, the later revelation throws light on the earlier. They did not say, The faith was once, and once for all, delivered to the saints; and therefore those who lived nearest to the apostolic age must have known the mind of the Spirit, on disputable points, better than later theologians: but they held that Christianity is a continuous revelation to the Catholic, that is, in their sense, to the Roman, Church. They commenced their proceedings with a declaration of this fundamental error: they declared that the Christian faith is contained partly in Holy Scripture, partly in the traditions of the Church; while existing usages were classed under the head of

traditions, which latter word is thus used by them in an ambiguous sense.

It is easy to see how it thus came to pass that neither Scripture nor the primitive Church, but medieval theology, became their guide. Not Scripture; for if the Scripture were silent upon any existing doctrine, or if any existing practice seemed repugnant to the plain language of Holy Writ, the silence of Scripture was counted for nothing: it was asserted, but not proved, that the germ of the doctrine or practice was discoverable in the sacred volume; the later revelation, from which, in part, the Christian faith was supposed to be derived, having developed it more fully. Thus to reform the Church on scriptural principles was impossible; and the Fathers fared no better. We have an instance of the manner in which the testimony of the primitive Church was set aside in the discussion which took place, in one of the congregations of the Council of Trent, with reference to the Book of Baruch. The question was, whether this book should be received as canonical. What said the primitive Church? It was not in the list of sacred books drawn up in the Council of Carthage; that is to say, no authority for it could be produced from the primitive Church. This was admitted; but what then? The existing Church used it as canonical in the offices for Easter-eve and the eve of Pentecost; and the existing Church being infallible, the silence of the primitive Church went for nothing. You perceive from this—which is one instance out of many which might be produced—how the authority of the primitive Church was ren-

dered null and void ; how the existing theology—the product, in its corruptions, of the middle ages—was received without examination : in other words, how medieval theology was established so as to supersede both Scripture and the primitive Church.

There were many great and pious men in the Romish churches at that time, some even at the Council of Trent, who would have pursued a different course, but by the managers of the council they were overruled ; for with them the one care which overwhelmed every other thought and consideration was, that the papal authority should suffer no damage. The papal power was the offspring of medieval theology ; touch one stone of that theology, and the throne of the pope would have been brought to a level with every other episcopal throne, and the triple crown would have become an ordinary mitre. Therefore not an attempt was made to compare the existing theology with the theology of the fathers or with Holy Scripture ; the deference to Scripture and the fathers in the Church of Rome is merely verbal ; and the business of the Trentine doctors was to systematise the doctrines of the middle ages. As Mosheim justly observes, “ not only was every doctrine that had been established by medieval councils received, but many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate subjects, which had been formerly left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate, were by this council absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed with violence on the consciences of men under pain of excommunication.”

The standard of Romish doctrine has remained unaltered from the time of the great assembly of Trent. Churches in connexion with Rome which at first demurred to the reception of the Trentine definitions have now tacitly if not avowedly adopted them.

The Church of Rome, therefore, is the representative, not of scriptural and primitive Christianity, but of medieval corruptions ; and on the Bible and medieval tradition her doctors based their reformation.

A little before this, the Church of England had also been reformed. She had sympathised with the reformation movement in Germany, but adopted the Lutheran system of reform only in part ; while she guarded against that development of it, which, through Calvinism and Puritanism, has resulted, in strong, powerful, and independent minds, in Rationalism.

The reformers of the Church of England agreed so far with both Luther and the Church of Rome, that they insisted upon the necessity of a definite system of theology, to be received on authority by the unlearned and beginners : they foresaw that if each individual were sent to his Bible as to a quarry, to dig out a religion for himself, the result would be infidelity.

But they differed from Luther by adopting an authority by which to be guided in the interpretation of Scripture, which they themselves adopted, instead of relying upon argument ; while they differed from the Church by refusing to receive as authoritative the novel definitions and modern practices of the Western Church. With Luther they took the Bible, and the Bible only, for their foundation ; but when, in relation to any doctrine or practice of the Church, the precise

meaning of Scripture was not indisputably apparent ; when Luther argued one way and Zuinglius another, and both contended that their opposite conclusions were scriptural, our practical forefathers ceased to argue, and deferred to authority : the question with them was, how was the Scripture understood with reference to the doctrine or practice under consideration, by Christians of the primitive church ; by those who received their instruction from the apostles, or apostolic men, and at a period when, through the correspondence of the metropolitans of an united Church, as well as by frequent councils, the depositum and tradition were watched with the most jealous care ?*

Their rule was the Bible, and it was the only rule, where all parties are agreed as to what the Bible says : and the Bible with the primitive Church when by the cavils of men the voice of Scripture is indistinct. If, then, we may say of the Lutheran principle of reformation, when fully developed, that it is the Bible and each man's private judgment ; if we may describe the Romish principle as that of the Bible and the middle ages, we may state the distinguishing principle of the English Reformation to be, the Bible and the primitive Church. Our Reformers received the doctrines of the Church as they found them, assuming that their existence was a *primâ facie* evidence in their favour. They did not reject any thing *because* it was medieval ; but where any thing medieval was of a questionable character, they then sought for

* See the author's Sermon "on Tradition," in his "Five Sermons before the University of Oxford."

guidance from Scripture; and if the Scripture was not clear, if two parties at variance, both of them claimed Scripture as being on their side, they then yielded to the decisions of the primitive councils or to the evidence of the primitive writers. They did not do as the Romanists, who professed to yield to the authority of the fathers, but interpreted the fathers by the tenets and practices of the existing Church; but when they found the existing theology contrary to the patristic theology, then they made an alteration, the modern yielded to the ancient. They fully understood that "antiquity ought to attend as the handmaid of Scripture, to wait upon her as her mistress, and to observe her; to keep off intruders from making too bold with her, and to discourage strangers from misrepresenting her." For, as Dr. Waterland observes, "Those that lived in or near to the apostolic times might retain in memory what the apostles themselves, or their immediate successors, thought or said upon such and such points; and though there is no trusting in such case to *oral* tradition as distinct from Scripture, nor to *written* disagreeing with Scripture, yet written accounts, consonant to Scripture, are of use to confirm and strengthen Scripture, and to ascertain its true meaning." They held that if "what appears but *probably* to be taught in Scripture itself appears certainly to have been taught by the primitive and Catholic Church, such probability so confirmed and strengthened carries with it the force of demonstration."*

* Waterland's Works, v. 261., ii. 8.

You see their principle and you see the reason for the adoption of it. Our Reformers, like Luther and Melancthon, required assent to a definite scheme of doctrine. When asked why to that scheme assent was required, Luther and Melancthon replied, because it has commended itself as scriptural to us and other learned men, and then they were open to attack from other learned men, who had a right to argue with them, since it was by argument only that Luther and Melancthon sought to establish their positions. With us the case is different; our Church was reformed by learned men, but they formed their scheme not upon argument but upon authority; they deferred to the authority of the primitive Church, and on any given point the question with them related to a fact — what was the doctrine received in the primitive Church? this was a matter of historical investigation. Transubstantiation was repudiated, not from any argumentative notion of its being absurd, for some of the most erudite and acute minds have accepted it, but simply because it was not primitive: this, in the case of Dr. Cranmer and Dr. Ridley, is an historical fact. It is very possible that our Reformers may have been mistaken in some particular details: they may have omitted something that is primitive, or they may have received something that is novel; and if a convocation to reform the Church shall again be called, these mistakes may be rectified. But their mistakes, supposing them to exist, are nothing to the point: the question is, what was their principle, and were they honest as well as learned men, who, in all

essentials, would apply the principle properly? Their honesty is proved to us by their having died, many of them, for their principles, and of their learning there has never been a question. That their principle was the Bible and the primitive Church no man can doubt who is acquainted with their writings, or who has even looked into our formularies. Let the last words of Dr. Cranmer bear testimony to their principles. I am not an admirer of Dr. Cranmer, though God used him as an instrument of good to the Church of England: though an amiable, he was a weak, worldly, vacillating man, the flatterer of a tyrant, and one, too, who certainly did not always act consistently with the principle he professed. (Note E.) But this only renders him the less exceptionable as a witness. When he, after having pusillanimously endeavoured to save his life by an act for which he may be pitied, but which it would be disgraceful to defend, fell a victim to Romish treachery and the principles of the Inquisition, he expressed himself thus:—

“ Touching my doctrine of the sacrament and other my doctrine of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the Sacred Scripture and of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and according to the exposition of *the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the Church*; and if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err, but heretic I

cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most Sacred Word of God and of the Holy Catholic Church, desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where, which God forbid, I have swerved from the truth.

“ And I protest and openly confess that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things as the Catholic church and most holy fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing only I am accused for an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine *lately* brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, *and unknown to the ancient fathers*, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion.” *

“ Touching the substance of religion,” says Bishop Jewell, in defence of our Reformation, “ we believe that which the ancient, Catholic, learned fathers believed ; we do what they did, we say what they said ; and marvel not, on what side soever ye see them, if ye see us join unto the same. It is our comfort that

* Cranmer's Works, iv. 126.

we see their faith and our faith agree in one.” “We have approached, as much as possibly we could, the Church of the apostles, and ancient Catholic bishops and fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with idolatry or any great public error. Neither have we only reformed the doctrine of our Church and made it like theirs in all things; but we have also brought the celebration of the sacraments and forms of our public rites and prayers to an exact resemblance to their institutions and customs; and so we have only done that which we know Christ and all pious and godly men have in all ages ever done; for we have brought back religion, which was foully neglected and depraved by them, to her original and first state; for we considered that *the reformation of religion was to be made by that which was the first pattern of it*; for this rule will ever hold good against all heretics, saith the most ancient father, Tertullian, *that which is true is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later*. Irenæus doth often appeal to the most ancient churches which are nearest to Christ, and which therefore are not at all likely to have erred. And why should not that course be taken now also? Why should we not return to a conformity with the most ancient churches? Why should not that now be heard among us which was pronounced at the Council of Nice, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many bishops and Catholic fathers; ἡ ἀρχαία κρατεῖτο, let the old customs stand firm?” *

* Jewell's Answer to Harding, *ad fin.* Apology, vi. § 15.

I do not quote Dr. Cranmer or Dr. Jewell as persons having any authority so far as their private opinions are concerned, but as witnesses to the fact that the Bible and the primitive Church was the principle upon which our Reformers attempted to reform the Church, in opposition to the principle of the Romish Church, which made antiquity defer to modern innovations. To Dr. Cranmer or Dr. Jewell no more of deference is in any other respect due, than there is to those of our modern bishops who endeavour to compel their clergy to receive not the teaching of the Church, but their own construction of our formularies, a course of conduct which the clergy and laity must respectfully resist. We do not require a bishop to give us his private opinion, but we *do* expect him to act on the principles of the Church, be his private opinions what they may. What says the Church of which the Reformers were sons and servants, not founders? this is our question; and the Church we will hear. Let us hear the Church speaking of the manner in which her ancient ritual was reformed. "There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised," it is said in the Prayer Book, "or so sure established, which in continuance of time hath not been corrupted; as among other things may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service. The first original or ground whereof, if a man would *search out by the ancient fathers*, he will find that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement in godliness. . . . Here you have an order of prayer, and for the reading of the Scripture, *much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old*

fathers."* It is said that in the ritual "of this Church of England," the same Church which had existed before the Reformation, the "godly and decent order of the ancient fathers having been altered, broken, and neglected," the reformed Liturgy was "compiled" from the offices before in use, "so as to be agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers."† Does the Church assert the doctrine of apostolical succession? She does it in these words: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture *and ancient authors*, that from the apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons."‡ (Note F.)

So has it always continued to be the rule of the Church of England to defer to the authority of the primitive Church; for our formularies, as we have them at present, are not the work of the first Reformers, but of reforming convocations down to the reign of Charles II. In 1603 we find the use of the sign of the cross defended by the convocation, "following the steps of the King, because he therein followed the rules of the Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church;" because the use of this sign in baptism was held by "the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause. . . . This continual and general use of the cross is evident by *the testimonies of the ancient fathers*. . . . It must

* "Concerning the Service of the Church," in the Book of Common Prayer.

† Preface to Prayer Book, 1548.

‡ Preface to the Ordination Office.

be confessed that, in process of time, the sign of the cross was greatly abused in the Church of Rome . . . but the abuse of a thing doth not take away its lawful use." *

Why were the Ember days appointed for prayer and fasting? It was in imitation of "the holy and religious example" of "the ancient fathers of the Church." † The office of deacon is described "as a step or degree to the ministry, according to the judgment of the ancient fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church." ‡ The convocation of 1640, in the seventh canon, says, "We declare that this situation of the holy table (at the east end of the chancel) doth not imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again *really* sacrificed; but it is and may be called an altar by us, *in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar, and in no other;*" and a little after, "We think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times."

When the commission was issued for the last revision of the Prayer Book, in 1661, the commissioners were directed to compare the same "*with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church*

* Canon xxx.

† Canon xxxi.

‡ Canon xxxii.

in the primitive and purest times." * And at the Savoy Conference, "to that part of the proposal that prayers may consist of nothing doubtful or questioned by pious, learned, and *orthodox* persons, the episcopal divines reply, that "since it is not defined and ascertained *who* those *orthodox* persons are, they must either take all those for orthodox persons who have the assurance to affirm themselves such, and if so, the demand is unreasonable; (for some who deny the divinity of the Son of God will style themselves orthodox; and yet there is no reason we should part with an article of the creed for their satisfaction: besides, the proposal requires an impossibility, for there never was nor ever will be any prayers couched in such a manner as not to be questioned by some people, who call themselves pious, learned, and orthodox :) *but if by orthodox is meant only those who adhere to Scripture, and the Catholic consent of antiquity, they are not of opinion that any part of the English Liturgy hath been questioned by such.*" †

I shall produce, lastly, the well-known canon of 1571: — "Preachers shall take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching which they would have their people religiously observe and believe but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and New, and that which the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered from the same doctrine." ‡

* Collier, ii. 877.

† Collier, ii. 880. The reader who wishes to see how consistently this principle has been held by the great divines of the Church of England is referred to Russell's "Judgment of the Anglican Church."

‡ Sparrow's Collection.

Such is the principle of the English reformation : it is distinct from the principle of ultra-Protestantism, the Bible, and each man's private judgment : it is distinct from the principle upon which the Church of Rome was reformed, by which the Bible and primitive tradition were superseded, and the errors of the middle ages were systematised : it is the Bible and the primitive Church.

Now this principle was accepted by some of those respectable but unfortunate individuals who have been of late years perverted to Romanism. Justly offended with the puritanism which, at the close of the last century and the beginning of this, obtained an ascendancy in the Church of England, when a Catholic ritual, administered by a latitudinarian clergy, seemed to be full of contradictions ; when baptismal regeneration, asserted at the font in an office, to all and every thing contained in and prescribed by which the clergy give their unfeigned assent and consent, was, nevertheless, too often, by those very clergy, denied in the pulpit ; where ceremonies were enjoined in the Liturgy, but too often reviled as popery by those who were compelled to observe them : offended, I say, by puritanism in the Church, attended as it was with these demoralising inconsistencies, many who at one time were prejudiced against church principles adhered to them, without ascertaining precisely what church principles are. They had recourse to the study of the fathers and of the primitive Church, and for a time all was well. The friends of the Church rejoiced in these new

allies. The study of the fathers commenced, but, alas! wherever we encourage the fertility of the soil we encourage the luxuriance which displays itself also in the produce of weeds; while we rejoiced in the increase of church principles, a tendency to Romanism (gradually, and before we were aware) developed itself. Men went into the study of the medieval writers; and the consequence was, that those who, while reading the fathers, were devoted admirers of the Church of England, became at first depravers of their own Church, and at last victims of the Church of Rome.

You must perceive from this, that in order to guard against this great error, the question presents itself, *who* are the primitive writers whom our Church consults, and to whom she would direct her divines? what are the councils to which we are to refer? This difficulty did not escape our Reformers: they saw that the line must be drawn somewhere, in order to distinguish primitive from medieval Christianity; and of course, as medieval is the perversion and corruption of primitive Christianity, a perversion and corruption gradually and imperceptibly introduced, not by design, not through ignorance, it was clearly impossible to draw the line very accurately.

“Where holy ground begins, unhallow’d ends,
Is mark’d by no distinguishable line.”

We can tell night from day; but we find it difficult to decide upon the precise moment when twilight begins or ends. An approximation was all that was attempted; and this was done, and so we possess a general rule.

I have before remarked on the absurdity as well as uncharitableness into which those persons are hurried by their evil passions, who, holding the right of private judgment, call another a heretic because his private judgment differs from theirs. I have also hinted that a rule to judge of heresy is necessary in a Church which regards as a heretic any one who refuses to hear the Church on points upon which the Church has once decided. Accordingly, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, an act of parliament was obtained, by which it is enacted, that no persons, howsoever appointed, shall “have authority or power to order, determine, or adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as have heretofore been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures*, or by the first four general councils, or any of them.” At the commencement of the same reign, when the English Reformers declared their willingness to refer the whole controversy between themselves and the Romanists to the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic Church, they affirmed that they meant, by the Word of God, the canonical Scriptures only; and by the custom of the primitive Church, the general practice of the Catholics for the first five centuries.† In the rules laid down for the conference with the priests and Jesuits in 1582, it said, “If they, the Papists, show any ground of Scripture, and wrest it to their

* Gibson’s Codex, vol. i. p. 425.

† Collier, ii. 416.

sense, let it be showed by interpretation of the old doctors, such as were before Gregory I. . . . If they can show no doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the apostles, and above four hundred years after, *when doctrine and religion were most pure*; for that they can show no predecessor whom they might succeed in the same. *Quod primum verum.*" *

In the convocation of 1640 it is decreed in the fourth canon: "Whereas much mischief is already done in the Church of God by the spreading of the damnable and cursed heresy of Socinianism, as being a complication of many ancient heresies, *condemned by the first councils*, and contrariant to the articles of religion established in the Church of England . . . it is therefore decreed." †

Here, then, we have a general direction, which, in these days, when so many persons are unconsciously Romanizing, it is especially important to observe. The line of demarcation between primitive and medieval Christianity having been, as I have said, overlooked by some persons, they have, while supposing themselves to be acting on the principle of the English Church, made shipwreck of their faith on the rocks and shoals of Romanism. And they who have done so, the Romanizers, unite with the ultra-Protestants, and, with a sneer, accuse the faithful sons of

* Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 196.

† Sparrow's Collection.

the Church of England of maintaining the absurd proposition that we would have every man to study the fathers as well as the Scriptures, in order that they may arrive at the truth. Of such an absurdity no one was ever guilty; but they are guilty of transgressing the ninth commandment who bring such a railing accusation against English churchmen. We agree with the Romanists in calling upon people to defer to the existing Church: *they* refer them to the scheme of theology finally settled for their church at the Council of Trent; *we* to the scheme of theology settled in various convocations of the Church since the time of Henry VIII. At the assembly of Trent the Romish Church accepted the theology which had come to them through the middle ages; while our Reformers corrected the medieval theology by reference to Scripture and the primitive Church. The question is a simple one, viz. What was the principle upon which each party formed that system of theology which remains unaltered on both sides since the period of their respective Reformations? No one is so weak in intellect that he cannot understand this; and I am sure that if he be not blinded by the pride of sect and the subtleties of system, he will see that the course adopted by our Reformers was the wise one. We do *not* tell the unlearned man to study the fathers, but we tell him what the principle of our Reformation was; that our Reformers studied the fathers, and deferred to the primitive Church; that when Scripture was doubtful, they ascertained how the early Church, during the first five centuries, understood it; and we give them, as the result of

these investigations, corroborated by the subsequent investigations of learned men who acted on the same principle, the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer Book is as a glass in which are collected the scattered rays of primitive tradition. This the most unlearned man can understand; and in accepting our formularies as the testimony of the primitive Church to guide him in his interpretation of Scripture, he has only to suppose, what it would be want of charity to doubt, that the succession of divines in the Church of England has consisted of honest men. If the principle of our Reformation was the Bible and the primitive Church, then the Prayer Book is, *ex professo*, both scriptural and primitive; and learned men who have studied primitive Christianity during the last three centuries have added the weight of their testimony to the fact, that it is what it professes to be. What is more, our enemies have never been able to prove that our Prayer Book is contrary to primitive Christianity. Ultra-Protestants who, consistently with their principles, have left the Church, have contended that it is unscriptural; but by unscriptural they merely mean that it is opposed to their private judgment of Scripture; and when Romanists and Romanizers have accused it of deficiencies, the deficiencies have been found to be of very minor importance, and the complaint has generally originated with those who, in ignorance, if not wilfully, have confounded primitive with medieval doctrines.

The practical question before men at the present time is a short and simple one, viz. which was the right principle of reformation? That of Luther, that

of Rome, or that of the Church of England? On this point we must make up our minds. But when our minds are made up, when we have decided on the principle to which our private opinions ought to be conformed, let us act upon it consistently.

Against those who, having been trained in admiration of medieval principles, are leading godly lives in the Church of Rome, in which medieval theology has been systematised; or against those ultra-Protestants, whether Puritans or Rationalists, whether Sabellians or Socinians, who take a position external to the Church, I utter not one word of censure. They act consistently on their principles. Were we in controversy with them, our business would be to suggest to them that the principle from which they started was erroneous, and to point out the end to which it logically tends. But further than this we do not proceed: to their own Master they must stand or fall, and what have we to do with judging them that are without? Be liberal in this respect, as the most liberal latitudinarian or Gallio could desire. Let us hope even against hope; even when prejudice against truth is most bitter, and railing accusations are brought against us, let us trust that it may be traced to an ignorance which is invincible:—

“If the rude waste of human error bear
One flower of hope, oh! pass, and leave it there.”

But surely there is nothing illiberal in requiring of those who remain in the Church of England to abide by the doctrines of that Church, and to take for

their guide in the exposition of her doctrines the principle of her Reformation. For this is only to call upon them to act as honest men. Even here there is room for true liberality; for a latitude of *opinion* must be tolerated, when that opinion is professedly in accordance with fundamental principles: the controversy between parties in the Church ought to be confined to this one point, whether certain private opinions are or are not consistent with our formularies, not only in the letter but in the spirit, the controversialists assuming as their data that our Church was reformed on the right principle, and that the exposition of that principle, as contained in the Prayer Book, including the Articles and not excluding the Canons, is in essentials scriptural and primitive.

But if men reject the principle of our Reformation, and adopt either the ultra-Protestant principle or the Romish principle, it certainly does appear to me that we are acting in a mere sectarian spirit, when we endeavour to persuade them to conform to or remain in the Church of England; their continuance among us must be injurious to their own souls, at the same time that it causes confusion in the Church. The acceptance of Calvinistic theology, and so unconsciously, at first, of the ultra-Protestant principle, made Puritans within the Church, who, judging the Church by a principle which she repudiates, became discontented with her offices, and then, when there was an honest and independent spirit, after a while forsook her, and established Protestant nonconformity. And just so it must be with

those who of late years have adopted, at first unconsciously, but now very often avowedly, medieval tastes and feelings: they make comparisons between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and draw conclusions in favour of the latter—why? because they judge the Church of England by a principle she rejects, and they judge the Church of Rome by the principle she professes. It follows, as a matter of course, that if you have respect to medieval theology, you must, in the ordinary process of your mental operations, become Romanists in spirit and in principle: this is as certain as that the motion of a point makes a line, and the addition of numbers a sum.

I may be wrong, but I certainly have more sympathy with those honest though mistaken men, who, having renounced the principle of our Reformation, on either side, leave the Church, than with those who, knowing that they cannot adhere to the principle of the English Church, endeavour to explain away her doctrines, or to make her practice conformable to the principle, either ultra-Protestant or medieval, which they have adopted. It must be injurious to a man's moral and religious character to use our baptismal office at the font, and to preach against baptismal regeneration in the pulpit; it must be equally detrimental, with regard to the other sacrament, so to state the doctrine of the real presence as to insinuate the medieval and very fundamental error of transubstantiation, or to confound the primitive doctrine of a spiritual sacrifice with the repudiated figment of Rome with respect to the sacrifice of the mass. It is not

the act of a strictly candid mind to add to the Liturgy, in order to make it conformable to ultra-Protestant tastes, by introducing hymns from the meeting-house; but if hymns be taken from the Breviary to meet the cravings of a mind fed upon the husks of medieval theology, there is the same want of candour which consists in attempting to teach, through the Church of England, what forms, in fact, no part of her teaching. That we want authorised hymns, hymns authorised by convocation (for no other authority can be admitted), may be true, and true it also is that there is as much right to adopt hymns in the one extreme as there is in the other—as *much* right, that is, no right at all: but the evil resulting from the assumption of this right is apparent; though my object in alluding to the subject at the present time is only to show how injurious it must be to character when this right is assumed by ultra-Protestants or by Romanizers, in order that they may make the Church of England appear to say what, in fact, she does not. The same observations are applicable to that sore point, the ceremonies of the Church; the narrowness of mind of ultra-Protestants remaining in the Church which leads them to condemn the ceremonies retained in the Church of England, and to revile those more scriptural as well as wiser persons who, knowing the value of ceremonial religion, are determined to observe them is highly reprehensible: but if their desire to make the Church of England conformable to the prejudices of ultra-Protestants be censurable, equally censurable, equally dishonest, equally detrimental to character, must be

the introduction of ceremonies not sanctioned by the Church of England, on the part of those whose hearts are evidently in the mass-house.

I need not at the present time dwell on the errors of those who err on the ultra-Protestant side, and who endeavour to introduce clandestinely into the Church of England modes of thought directly adverse to her principles, for this has been already done by Mr. Gresley with his usual ability, and with more than his accustomed eloquence. But I feel it incumbent upon me to warn an opposite extreme against acting on the same wrong principle, though applied in a different direction.

To all parties I would say, *Obsta principiis*. For my own part it has always been my humble endeavour to abide by the principles of the Church of England; and I have ever professed myself ready to renounce, detest, and abjure any opinion which could be proved contrary to the principles laid down by her in her formularies, as reformed and established in her various convocations assembled for the purposes of compiling or revising her Liturgy during the last three hundred years; that is to say, I have received the principle of the English Reformation, and I presume that convocations of honest Church-of-England men, acting on this principle, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, whose aid they invoked, have so applied the principle which commends itself to my judgment, that they have not erred in essentials. Conscious of this honest Anglicanism, I have disregarded attacks on all sides; and I feel that I have a right, in addressing members of the Church of England, to say, Look

to your principle, the principle of your Reformation, abide by it, and so will you be safe.

Is it said that we thus make our formularies infallible? I know that this is said, but then it cannot be proved. We may admit that our formularies are capable of, or even that they require improvement; we may admit that reform is necessary; it may be, as some assert, that there is some ambiguity in some of our formularies; that our canonical regulations are obsolete, and our discipline relaxed: it may be, as Mr. Bennett informs us, that the Church of England is alienating from her communion millions of souls by her negligence; that her powers are paralysed by “the carnal lives of her clergy, the Erastianism of her prelates, and the ungodliness of her laity.”* Yes, we may admit that our laity are irreverent, that in many parishes the clergy are neglectful of their duty, and that our prelates are proud, time-serving, and despotic: I will not assert it; I have no sympathy

* See “Crime and Education. By the Rev. W. E. J. Bennett.” The public are deeply indebted to this gentleman, as in so many other respects, so also for this pamphlet. Whether his plan of education is practicable is a question not easily decided: it must be approved by those who, under a conviction of the necessity of the adoption of some great educational movement, would make even greater concessions. The greater number of plans which private persons can suggest to our superiors the better. To Mr. Bennett the friends of education are indebted for the clear, decided, energetic manner in which he demands for the operatives of England an increase in the means of education, and shows how inadequate are those hitherto adopted to meet our educational wants. The manner in which he speaks of the virtues and the wrongs of the working classes must obtain the sympathy of all who labour among them.

with those who say these things, not in sorrow but in scorn ; I will, moreover, contend, that if these charges can be established against us, they are in the same proportion true of all other communities, composed as they are of sinful and fallible men : but for the sake of argument we will admit it. In making the admission, we only admit that it is possible to make out a case for the assembly of another convocation, to carry out and apply yet further that principle which, adopted at the commencement of our Reformation, has been acted upon ever since. If any mistakes can be shown to have been made, any practices, not medieval, but really primitive and scriptural, omitted, let a convocation be held to amend the error and correct the abuse. All that we say is, that to our *principle* we must adhere, and that we are content to receive the application of that principle, as we find it applied in our formularies, until it be proved to the satisfaction of those who have authority to pronounce upon the subject, that is, to our divines assembled in convocation, that, according to our admitted principle, an alteration is requisite.

And here we may interpose a caution against listening to what is said by single divines, however learned, as to what is or is not primitive truth, when the truth they call primitive is not recognised by our formularies. We are not to defer to the opinion of an individual, merely because he says that he is influenced by the principle of the Bible and the primitive Church : we are not thus to have respect to persons. If he make an assertion contrary to the doctrine of our formularies, and call it primitive, is it not safer

to suppose that they who drew up our formularies, being many learned men, are more likely to have been right than any single individual who makes a statement counter to that on which they have acted? It is, on the other hand, no doubt, true, that they may have been prejudiced by contemporary opinions, and that they may have sometimes unintentionally deviated from their principle; and, consequently, if you are a learned man, you are at liberty to ascertain, on any mooted point, whether our Reformers have or have not adhered to the principle upon which they professed to act. And if you find that they have, in any minor detail, fallen into error, you may, with modesty, state your conviction, and hope that the subject will be fairly discussed at a future convocation, if such should assemble; but even then the subject will have to be discussed by men as learned as yourself, and after all, it may be discovered that you are in error. It is not much to require a little modesty and humility in judging of the Church; and learned men are to be warned against supposing that, by the canon of 1571, more latitude is allowed them than is consistent with a due regard to our formularies. "This canon," says Dr. Waterland, "does not order that preachers shall teach whatever hath been taught by the fathers. No; that would be setting up a new rule of faith: neither doth it say that they shall teach whatsoever the fathers had collected from Scripture. No; that would be making them infallible interpreters or infallible reasoners: the doctrine must be found first in Scripture; only, to be more secure that we have found it there, the fathers are

to be called in, to be, as it were, constant checks upon the presumption and wantonness of private interpretation; but then, again, as to private interpretation, there is liberty enough allowed to it. Preachers are not forbidden to interpret this or that text, or hundreds of texts, differently from what the fathers have done, provided still they keep within the analogy of faith, and presume not to raise any new doctrine. Neither are they altogether restrained from teaching any thing new, provided it be offered as an opinion only, or an inferior truth, and not pressed, as necessary, upon the people. For it was thought that there could be no necessary article of faith or doctrine now drawn from Scripture, but what the ancients had drawn out before from the same Scripture: to say otherwise, would imply that the ancients had failed universally in necessities, which is morally absurd. From this account it may appear that the Church of England is exactly in the same sentiments which I have been pleading for; and, indeed, if there be any Church now in the world which truly reverences antiquity, and pays a proper regard to it, it is this Church. The Romanists *talk* of antiquity, while *we* observe and follow it." *

If caution be thus necessary, even in the case of an individual who professes to be under the guidance of the principle of our Reformation, when he ventures to find fault with our formularies, it becomes still more important that we should not at any time yield our minds to the guidance of an author who is known

* On the Holy Trinity, cvii. p. 442.

to be under the influence of a principle which we regard as erroneous. As the leaf determines the character of the future tree, and as the bud presents the rudiments of the yet unfolded flower, even so you may be sure of the tendency of an author's work when you have ascertained what his principle is. He may be inconsistent, and thus not always come professedly to a wrong conclusion ; but the *tendency* of his instruction must be in a direction contrary to that which you believe to be right. There is no bigotry, therefore, in our refusing to seek instruction from a book written by a Puritan, a Rationalist, or a Roman Catholic. We only act by our own souls as we should act in the case of our children. Before we send our child to school, we inquire into the principles of the master ; and although we know him to be a clever man, and may occasionally find pleasure in his conversation, if his principles be in our opinion erroneous, we refuse to commit our child to his training. In like manner, we may have recourse to a book written by one whose principles we condemn, for information on a given point, or for amusement ; but when it is offered to us as what is called a religious book, we should refuse it, lest, being led by the blind, we fall into the ditch. Such a work we should approach, not as a learner, but as a critic—for amusement, not for spiritual edification. However inferior we may be to the writer in intellect, or however excellent his moral character may have been, we are to assume a superiority, because we have been trained on a superior principle, and on a better system. We do not prohibit the use of opium or other drugs, de-

leterious in themselves, but in some cases beneficially administered; but when the conscientious druggist permits a bottle of laudanum to be taken from his counter, he has the precaution to write "Poison" on its label, and to warn the purchaser not to leave it in the way of the careless. So ought we clearly to designate the works of authors who have written under the influence of an erroneous principle, lest the unwary should be injured.* Even good works, coming from a suspected quarter, are to be viewed with suspicion. Nor is it safe, since there are both Puritans and Romanizers in the Church of England, to adopt as our guide the work of one holding office among us, if he is known to be under the influence of any other principle than that of the English Reformation.

* In the reprints of Roman Catholic books of devotion by Dr. Pusey, there is not sufficient caution in this respect. Notwithstanding the care of the excellent editor to extract the peculiarities of Roman doctrine, they tend evidently to encourage a Roman-Catholic style of devotion. The author took the liberty of expressing his sentiments upon the subject to Dr. Pusey after his first publication. Dr. Pusey's notion of the liberty given him by the canon of 1571 is at variance with that common-sense view of the question taken by Dr. Waterland, and quoted in this lecture. We may not go to the Fathers, exercise our own judgment as regards their teaching, and then pass judgment upon the Church of England, or constrain her formularies to consonance with our own notions of primitive theology; relying thus, in fact, on our private judgment. We should start with our formularies; we should suppose that they are right, and, in studying the Fathers, take them for our guide, upon the ground that they are based on the decision, not of one learned or pious man, but of many. It is clear that phrases used by the Fathers before the Nicene Council, though quite capable of an orthodox meaning, which is their right meaning, because they were used by orthodox

People do act with this precaution almost by a moral instinct. A true-hearted member of the Church of England would scruple to receive a tract either from the Religious Tract Society, or from the so-called Catholic Institute; and I maintain that your caution in so doing is justifiable, and no sign of an illiberal spirit: you refuse to receive what is circulated by persons who openly profess to be under the guidance of a principle different from that which you have adopted: you do not wish to have your ideas confounded. At the same time, by both societies, works may be circulated which you read, when received from some one in whom you have confidence, because, though written by persons whose general principle was erroneous, they have been examined by Anglicans, and

men, would, nevertheless, be inexpedient at a time when the doctrine of the Trinity had been more clearly defined. Before heresies exist, our expressions are lax, because they cannot be misunderstood: when terms have been applied to express a sense which we repudiate, we become more circumspect in the use of them. Terms used by the Fathers with reference to the eucharist could not be used with propriety at a period subsequent to the introduction of the medieval error of transubstantiation. The question is not as to words, but as to the fact, whether the Fathers believed as we do. If that be granted, then it is surely more safe to adhere to the terms adopted by our Reformers when repudiating the medieval error, than to terms orthodox at the time, but misunderstood and misapplied by Romanists. These observations are applicable to the use of Romish phraseology in other respects: instead of seeking to adopt it, we should prefer what is Anglican.

Jeremy Taylor, like Dr. Pusey, made use of Roman Catholic books of devotion. But he corrected them by our formularies, and so Anglicanised them; Dr. Pusey corrects them by what he calls the primitive church; meaning thereby what Dr. Pusey regards as such. The process is entirely different, and the result can hardly be the same.

have been by them pronounced to be consistent with the doctrines of our formularies. We may instance, on the one hand, some of the works of Baxter, and on the other, Thomas à Kempis.

I must, before I conclude, touch upon two other subjects, on which it appears necessary to say something, though, in saying it, offence may be taken by some of those who deserve our esteem and respect. It is impossible not to perceive that by those who are zealously employed in restoring old churches and erecting new ones at the present time, an impulse is given to the encouragement of medieval tastes; medieval tastes may lead to medieval studies; and medieval studies to Romanism. Surely, then, those good and zealous men who are thus honourably employed should pause in the midst of their work, and reconsider their ways. You will not, I am sure, have any sympathy with those who speak of Gothic architecture as peculiarly or exclusively ecclesiastical. We may admire Gothic architecture; we may think that, on the whole, it is best adapted to ecclesiastical purposes; but there were splendid churches in existence before the first Gothic architect was born. Gothic architecture is not connected, in our minds, with the purest ages of Christianity. The student of ecclesiastical history must be well acquainted with the description given by Eusebius of the churches erected at Tyre, at Jerusalem, and at Constantinople.* Magnificent churches they were; sumptuously ornamented, as was proper, being dedicated by the first Christian emperor

* Euseb. lib. x. c. 4.; De Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 33., and lib. iv. c. 50. 53.

to the service of the King of kings. For magnificent and sumptuous churches, you have primitive precedent as well as scriptural authority. But these were not Gothic churches. In various particulars and details they differed from the churches of the middle ages, and why? The rituals of the primitive and medieval churches differed; and the primitive Christians considered that a church was to be built for the ritual, not the ritual adapted to the church. Their churches were erected to meet the exigencies of the Greek ritual and the customs of the people. And, surely, this is the principle upon which new churches ought to be erected in England. Is it not manifestly incongruous to erect a church on the model for the fourteenth century, when we want a church for the ritual of the nineteenth century? In the fourteenth century the Litany was sung or said in procession, and there were frequent processions in churches; in the nineteenth century the Litany is sung or said kneeling, and processions are of rare occurrence: in the fourteenth century the sermon seldom formed part of divine service, and was often delivered in another part of the church*; whereas now the sermon forms

* The account which we have in Dante of medieval preaching does not impress us with the notion of there being more of *reverence* at that time than there is now: —

“ Christ said not to the convent of his twelve,
‘ Go forth and preach buffooneries to the world ;’
But gave them truth to build on ; and the sound
Was mightier on their lips than shield or spear.
The preacher now provides himself with store
Of jests and jibes ; and if his hearers laugh,
His big cowl swells with pride, and all goes right.”

part of the Communion Service. Not to instance other particulars, it is quite clear, that for rituals differing so widely, another arrangement of the Church is necessary. We all admit that our forefathers were in error when they sought to assimilate the Church to the Conventicle, in order that Dissenters might not perceive what an honest man wishes to have perceptible, the difference between the principles professed in a church and in a meeting-house: they were led to this by their ultra-Protestantism. Let us take warning from their example, and, instead of rushing into the opposite extreme, take care that our admiration of Gothic churches does not lead to medieval tastes, which will end in Romanism. Why are our architects to be mere servile imitators of their predecessors? Why are they to have no scope for genius? Surely we ought, acting on primitive principles, to encourage their inventive powers; we ought to say to them, "As Gothic architecture was at its excellence in the fourteenth century, you ought to master the principles of your art from the ancient models; and then, having studied your Prayer Book, you ought to apply those principles to the production of an edifice in which the services of the existing Church of England may be performed in the beauty of holiness." Even with respect to galleries, they are unsightly objects, but they are sometimes necessary. In the fourteenth century, when the ritual was in a dead language, the people assisted, but took no part in the service. The ritual has now been translated into the vulgar tongue, that all the congregation may hear, and bear their part in the services:

while, in medieval churches, ample space was required for processions, we, on the contrary, require to have many people accommodated in the smallest possible space. Where this can be done without galleries, every one will desire to dispense with them; but practical men will be unwilling to remove them entirely until our architects have seriously considered whether they cannot be made ornamental as well as useful.

I need scarcely remark, that it was on this practical and primitive principle that the parish church of Leeds was built. We impressed upon the mind of our architect that our object was not to exhibit an imitation of medieval art, but to have an edifice erected in which the services of the existing Church of England, the ritual of the nineteenth century, might be performed with solemnity and grandeur. I know how much fault is found with this structure by medieval pedants; but I have never yet seen a church so admirably adapted for the services of the Church of England; and when it is criticised by those who say, with a sneer, that "It is truly Anglican," I take the sneer for a compliment, and rejoice to find that it is what it assumes to be. It is, indeed, a representation of the Church of England, reviled by one extreme as Popish, and by the other extreme as Protestant; and long may its consecrated walls witness the teaching of that good old Church-of-England theology, removed on the one hand from ultra-Protestantism, and on the other from Romanism, which would train us in the *via media*, and call upon us to "stand in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good

way, that ye may walk therein, and so find rest to your souls." *

What has been said with reference to church architecture is applicable also to church music. If a man says that he adopts the Gregorian music, because it is the best that he can provide, or because he thinks it peculiarly devotional, his conduct is intelligible, though his taste may be questionable. The occasional use of the Gregorian chants is a pleasing variety in our services. But when an attempt is made to bring them into use, as being peculiarly or exclusively ecclesiastical, I, for one, shall continue to resist it. How are they peculiarly ecclesiastical? They certainly formed the music of the middle ages, but that is a *primâ facie* objection to them; a taste for what was used in the middle ages being precisely that which we of the Church of England are unwilling to encourage. The primitive principle was this, that whenever God blesses our labours, and permits us to discover a new art, or to make progress in a science, we should dedicate to his service the art or science in which the advancement has been made. It may be contrary to medieval taste to light our churches with gas, or warm them with hot air; but primitive principles would lead us to consecrate these discoveries, by introducing them into God's house. And if in musical science men have improved, on these grounds, there ought to be an attempt to improve the music of the Church. And hence the Church of England has a music of her own, based upon the old Gregorian

* Jeremiah, vi. 16.

music, but harmonised according to the rules of science, which Gregory the Great would, doubtless, have adopted had they been known to him; for he was a reformer of church music on this very principle. It is true that what is thought by some to be an improvement is regarded by others as the reverse. About tastes there can be no dispute; if a minister and his congregation* prefer Gregorian to other music, we have no right to find fault with their adoption of it. But when an attempt is made to force it into general use, we resist it, because this implies the prevalence of that medieval taste, which, unchecked, must lead to Romanism. The carelessness of the last century led to a manner of performing our services by which they are unmeaning. We rejoice in the improvement which, in spite of controversy, is in progress; and we rejoice the more because a stricter observance of the rubric, and the bringing forward portions of our offices hitherto kept designedly in the back ground, has a tendency to annihilate the ultra-Protestant spirit, which has checked the advancement of true religion and virtue in our Zion. But ultra-Protestantism is to be replaced not by Medievalism, but according to the blessed principles of the English Reformation, by primitive Christianity as embodied in our Book of Common Prayer. (Note G.)

* Surely no clergyman has a right to make an alteration in the services of the Church, except when a rubric is evidently violated, without consulting the people. We blame a bishop when he acts despotically, by not consulting his presbyters; but presbyters act equally as despots when they do not attend to the wishes, expressed or implied, of the faithful among whom they minister.

I have detained you unreasonably, but I trust not unpardonably long. Having had to enter into details, I could not compress what I had to say within a shorter compass. I thank you for the attention with which you have heard me ; and I hope that what I have said may be serviceable to some who, in the midst of controversial strife, are anxious for a rule by which to be guided. The miserable Latitudinarians who, careless of doctrine, are in practice more careless still ; who think of their dignity and ease when souls are perishing around them whom they are salaried to feed ; who hate nothing so much as earnestness in religion, and vent their selfish spleen by discovering Puritanism in every act of self-denial, and Popery in every act of devotion ; who censure and sneer at all who are labouring in the vineyard, while they themselves are like drones in the bee-hive : these are not the men who represent the *via media* principle of the Church of England, as our enemies would represent them to be. To them, with their closed churches and full tithe barns, the men of the *via media* are resolutely opposed : nay, we can revere zeal, and Christian love, and enthusiastic devotion to the service of our adorable Saviour wherever they may be found : we can gaze with admiration on the fruits of the Spirit wheresoever produced, whether in the Roman convent or the Methodist class-room ; but we say, in the quaint but strong language of an old poet : —

“ In my religion I dare entertain
No fancies hatched in my own weak brain,
Nor private spirits ; but am ruled by
The Scriptures, and that church authority,

Which with the ancient faith doth best agree ;
But new opinions will not down with me.
When I would learn I never greatly care,
So truth they teach me, who my teachers are ;
In points of faith I look not on the man ;
Nor Beza, Calvin, neither Luther can
More things, without just proof, persuade me to,
Than any honest parish clerk can do.
The ancient fathers (where consent I find)
Do make me, without doubting, of their mind :
But where, in his opinion, any *one*
Of those great pillars I shall find alone,
(Except in questions which indifferent are,
And such until his name unmoved were,)
I shun his doctrine ; for this swayeth me,
‘ No man alone on points of faith can be.’ ”

WITHERS.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

LEEDS CHURCH INSTITUTION.

THIS Society was formed on the 30th May, 1838, when a library was established, to be conducted on Church principles; and it was afterwards extended under its present title.

I. That the Vicar be *ex-officio* the President of the Institution; that the officers (consisting of the President, Treasurer, and Secretaries) be permanent appointments; but in case of a vacancy occurring, it shall be filled up by the council.

II. That the management of this Institution be vested in the officers and council, consisting of the clergy of the parish, of the officers for the time being of the Leeds' District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (provided they be members of the Institution), and of twelve laymen, to be elected annually.

III. That at the last meeting in each session, to be held the first Monday in May, the council do submit, for the approbation of the subscribers, a report of their proceedings; and a list of twelve members to act as the lay members of the council for the ensuing session.

IV. That the council meet on the first Monday in each month for the transaction of business.

V. That subscribers of 10s. 6d. per annum shall have the advantage of the library, news-room, papers, and lectures, and be entitled to the use of one set of books. The subscribers of 1l. 1s. per annum, or donors of 10l. 10s., having an addition of one extra transferable ticket to each paper and lecture, and one extra set of books.

VI. That persons wishing to become members must be recommended by a member, in a book kept for that purpose; and be

submitted at the next monthly meeting to the council for election. But that none be considered eligible who are not conscientious members of the Church of England.

VII. That a book be kept on the library table for the insertion of suggestions by the members, and for the recommendation of books.

VIII. That the council, so far as the funds allow, shall provide books, periodicals, and newspapers, for the perusal of the members.

IX. That, as far as possible, regularly recurring papers and lectures be provided for the members. That to these lectures the members of the district libraries be admitted, provided they have been subscribers for the previous three months.

X. That classes be formed for mutual instruction, subject to the direction of the council.

XI. That the council be empowered to make grants of books towards establishing libraries in the different districts of the town, and of money towards the fitting up of libraries and reading-rooms.

XII. That the management of the district libraries and reading-rooms be vested in the hands of the clergy of the district, and of the visitors of the Christian Knowledge Society, being members of the Central Library; but that all proceedings of the district committees be transmitted to the next monthly meeting of the council, for its approval.

XIII. That the property of the libraries be vested in the bishop of the diocese, and the vicar of the parish, as trustees.

The following abstract will exhibit the steady progress of the Institution:—

| | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------|---|-----|----|----|----|
| In 1839, the income amounted to | - | 110 | 10 | 6 | |
| 1840, ditto | - | 90 | 15 | 0 | |
| 1841, ditto | - | 74 | 5 | 9 | |
| 1842, ditto | - | 124 | 13 | 6 | |
| 1843, ditto | - | 89 | 10 | 9 | |
| 1844, ditto | - | 73 | 2 | 0 | |
| 1845,* ditto | - | 162 | 19 | 6½ | |
| 1846, ditto | - | 223 | 8 | 8 | |

In these returns special donations are not included.

* In this year 90*l.* 11*s.* was subscribed for special purposes, which would raise the net actual income to 253*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.*

NOTE B.

One of the artifices on the part of Romanizers of which we have to complain is, that they place Catholicism as the opposite to Protestantism. Popery and Protestantism are opposed, and so also are Popery and Catholicism. Catholicism is opposed to heresy. There are undoubtedly Protestant heresies, but heresy is not peculiar to Protestantism; there are Popish heresies also. It is absolutely necessary to use these old-fashioned terms, in order to make the distinction which it is attempted in some quarters to confound. The author submits to the reader the following article from his "Church Dictionary," on the word Protestant. At the time of its first publication the article was attacked in the "British Magazine," but he saw no reason to make any alteration in it:—

"PROTESTANT. — The designation of Protestant is used in England as a general term to denote all who protest against Popery. Such, however, was neither the original acceptation of the word, nor is it the sense in which it is still applied, on the Continent. It was originally given to those who protested against a certain decree issued by the Emperor Charles V., and the Diet of Spire, in 1529.

"On the Continent it is applied as a term to distinguish the Lutheran communions. The Lutherans are called Protestants; the Calvinists the Reformed. It is evident that in *our* application of the word it is a mere term of negation. If a man says that he is a Protestant, he only tells us that he is *not* a Romanist; at the same time he may be what is worse—a Socinian, or even an Infidel, for these are all united under the common principle of protesting against Popery. The appellation is not given to us, as far as the writer knows, in any of our formularies, and has chiefly been employed in political warfare as a watchword to rally in one band all who, whatever may be their religious differences, are prepared to act politically against the aggressions of the Romanists. In this respect it was particularly useful at the Revolution; and as politics intrude themselves into all the considerations of an Englishman, either directly or indirectly, the term is endeared to a powerful and influential party in the state. But on the very ground that it thus keeps out of view distinguishing and vital principles, and unites in apparent agreement those who essentially differ, many of our divines object to the use of the word. They contend, with good reason, that it is quite absurd to speak of the

Protestant *religion*, since a religion must, of course, be distinguished, not by what it renounces, but by what it professes: they apprehend that it has occasioned a kind of sceptical habit, of inquiring, not how much we ought to believe, but how much we may *refuse* to believe; of looking at what is negative instead of what is positive in our religion; of fearing to inquire after truth, lest it should lead to something which is held by the Papists in common with ourselves; and which, *therefore*, as some persons seem to argue, no sound Protestant can hold; forgetting that on this principle we ought to renounce the Liturgy, the sacraments, the doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity and atonement of Christ, nay, the very Bible itself. It is on these grounds that some writers have scrupled to use the word. But although it is certainly absurd to speak of the Protestant *religion*, *i. e.* a negative religion, yet there is no absurdity in speaking of the Church of England, or the Church of America, as a Protestant *Church*: the word Church conveys a positive idea, and there can be no reason why we should not have *also* a negative appellation. If we admit that the Church of Rome is a true, though a corrupt, Church, it is well to have a term by which we may always declare that, while we hold in common with her all that she has which is catholic, scriptural, and pure, we protest for ever against her multiplied corruptions. Besides, the word, whether correctly or not, is in general use, and is, in a certain sense, applicable to the Church of England; it is surely, therefore, better to retain it, only with this understanding, that when we call ourselves Protestants, we mean no more to profess that we hold communion with all parties who are so styled, than the Church of England when, in her creeds and formularies, she designates herself, not as the *Protestant*, but as the *Catholic* Church of this country, intends to hold communion with those Catholic churches abroad which have infused into their system the principles of the Council of Trent. Protestant is our negative, Catholic our definitive name. We tell the Papist that with respect to him we are Protestant; we tell the Protestant Dissenter that with respect to him we are Catholics; and we may be called Protestant or Protesting Catholics, or, as some of our writers describe us, Anglo-Catholics."

NOTE C.

The verses of Walter Dyce, a countryman of ours, describe the state of things as strongly, though less poetically: —

“ In primis pontifices et prælatos noto,
 Nam iste grex hominum, canone remoto,
 Totus est in poculis, totus lucri voto
 Æstuat, et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.
 Heu! quam nugatorii præsules moderni,
 Dici debent potius præsides Averni,
 Vel spretores melius iudicis æterni,
 Potores bibuli media de nocte phalerni.” *

The following poem has more pretension to poetical merit, while it shows also the estimation in which the Church of Rome was at that time held. Even as we Anglicans contend, what was at first gold, gradually degenerated into silver, mud, dung.

“ Papa stupor mundi cecidit, secum cecidere
 Cœlica templa, mea membra, simulque caput
 Papa dolor! mundique pudor! per crebra patescit
 Crimina seu scelera, fæmine sonifero!
 Heu Simon regnat! per munera quæque reguntur;
 Judiciumque pium gaza nefanda vetat.
 Curia Papalis foveat omnia scandala mundi,
 Delubra sacra facit, perfiditate, forum.
 Ordo sacer, baptisma sacrum cum Chrismate sancto
 Venduntur turpi conditione foro.
 Dives honoratur, pauper contemnitur, atque
 Qui dare plura valet munera gratus erit.
 Aurea quæ quondam fuit, hinc argentea, papæ
 Curia, procedit deteriore modo.
 Ferrea dehinc facta, dura cervice quievit
 Tempore non modico, sed modo facta lutum.
 Postque lutum quid deterius solet esse? Recordor,
 Stercus. Et in tali curia tota sedet.”

This is taken from Theodoric Uric's History, which contains an account of the Council of Constance, and abounds with lively descriptions of the corruptions of the Church.

NOTE D.

On this subject the following observations of Mr. Stanley Faber, in his work on the Doctrine of Election, are worthy of notice:—

* Ad Calcem Operum Nicol. Clem. Leyden.

“Two persons, we will say, each with perfect, though mistaken sincerity, supplicate the throne of grace, that the true interpretation of those texts, which speak of election and predestination, may, by the Holy Spirit, be conveyed to their divinely illuminated intellect.

“The prayer is by each party duly put up; and the incongruous result is, that the one person becomes a decided Calvinist, and that the other person rises up from his devotions a steadfast Arminian. Now, clearly, the interpretations which they henceforth confidently recommend as answers, severally vouchsafed to their prayers for intellectual illumination, cannot *both* be correct.

“How, then, if we admit the fitness of the practice, are we to determine between the two opposing expositions? Which interpretation are we bound in conscience to receive as the unerring communication of the infallible Spirit of unmixed truth?

“Without the very extremity of arrogant assumption, neither individual, I apprehend, can presume to say that his interpretation is the genuine dictate of the Spirit, and that the interpretation of his opponent is advanced purely under the influence of strong delusion. I put not any mere imaginary case; the unseemly incongruity here pointed out has actually occurred, as the result of the unauthorised prayers of two very good, though very mistaken, men.

“Mr. Whitfield says, ‘I never read any thing that Calvin wrote — my doctrines I had from Christ and his apostles — I was taught them of God.’ And he further somewhat more distinctly states, in regard to the particular doctrine specially alluded to — ‘Election is a doctrine which I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God.’

“Yet Mr. Wesley broadly declares, that he has an immediate call from God, to preach and publish to the world that Mr. Whitfield’s doctrine is highly injurious to Christ.

“From the very purport of these jarring allegations, I venture to conclude, that Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Wesley had alike prayed to God for a right understanding of the texts which are litigated between Calvinists and Arminians; for neither of them could have well imagined ‘that he was taught of God,’ or ‘that he had an immediate call from God,’ without the antecedent preparation of much thought on the subject, mingled with prayer. Yet, what is the result of such utterly unscriptural applications to the Deity? Combining the two together, we portentously learn, from the conjoined declarations of Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Wesley, that ‘the

former was taught of God the doctrine of election, as expounded by Augustine and Calvin;’ while ‘the latter had an immediate call from God to publish to the whole world that this identical doctrine of election thus expounded is totally false, and highly injurious to Christ.’ The truth of the matter was, that each, by his own private reasoning and judging upon Scripture, had firmly persuaded himself that his own view of election was undoubtedly correct; and an erroneous estimate of the nature and office of prayer, associated with a strong imagination, readily effected the remainder.

“But the mischief of such presumptuous petitions will appear even in a yet more striking point of view, when it is stated that they have actually been preferred both by an infidel and (in the language of the early Church) by a God-denying apostate, and that the wretched result was a full confidence on the part of each that his own system had received the special sanction of Heaven.

“When Lord Herbert of Cherbury had finished his favourite infidel work, he prayed that he might be instructed by some sign from Heaven, whether it were for the honour of God to suppress it or publish it. The answer to his prayer, he tells us, was a divine sign, which authorised him to print and circulate the work.

“The prayers of Socinus were, to himself at least, of an equally satisfactory description: he claimed to have received God’s instruction and assistance in the interpretations which he has put upon the various passages of Scripture litigated between his own followers and the Catholic Church.”

NOTE E.

It is not generally known that Archbishop Cranmer enriched himself with the spoils of the Church, availing himself of the extraordinary powers he possessed as one of the regency at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. The town of Cookridge formed part of the possessions of the abbey of Kirkstall, the ruins of which are still an ornament to the parish of Leeds. “It was granted,” says Thoresby, “together with the site of the monastery, &c., by King Henry VIII., by indenture, dated 10th June, 1540, to Robert Pakeman, Gent., of the King’s household, under the yearly rent of 5*l.* 14*s.* King Edward VI., by letters patent, 1st June, in the first year of his reign, gave it to Archbishop Cranmer.” Bramley, a township of Leeds, and several other places

belonging to the Abbot of Kirkstall, "are expressly mentioned in the original letters patent of King Edward VI. to Archbishop Cranmer, now in the possession of my honoured friend Thomas Kirke, Esq." "King Edward VI., A. R., Imo, among other estates, granted all the demesne lands belonging to the monastery of Kirkstall, in Horseforth, to Archbishop Cranmer. In the fourth year of the same reign the same archbishop obtained a licence to alienate these lands to one Peter Hamond, and others to the use of Thomas Cranmer, his eldest son and heirs."*

NOTE F.

To the preface of the ordinal, as well as to the ordinal itself, and to all that is contained therein and prescribed thereby, all clergymen, bishops as well as priests and deacons, declare their unfeigned assent and consent; it is somewhat remarkable, therefore, that some prelates, whom it would be invidious to name, should denounce the doctrine of the apostolical succession to their clergy, as if it were a doctrine not held by the Church of England. If this be not the doctrine of the Church of England, why are there bishops at all? Except for this doctrine, we could dispense with bishops, and conduct the discipline of the Church more efficiently by Presbyterian synods. In the preface to the ordinal, the question is, what did the *ancient* authors, whose authority is quoted and whose example is followed, mean by the word bishops? No one can deny that they meant ecclesiastical rulers, having power to ordain, they having themselves been ordained by others. This cannot be denied. The assertion then of the Church is this: that from the apostles' time this order existed, the order of bishops as distinguished from the two other orders. She also states that, moreover, even in the apostles' time, the bishops, as well as other clergy, were admitted to their office by public prayer and imposition of hands. It is admitted that ordination is an office which has always belonged exclusively to the episcopal order, wherever episcopacy has existed; and the Church of England affirms that this order has existed from the apostles' time. Therefore as our present bishops were ordained by bishops, so were their predecessors consecrated by bishops up to what period? The Church answers, Up to the apostles' time. The apostles being themselves appointed by

* Whitaker's Thoresby, i. 157. 175.; ii. 214.

Christ, ordained the first generation of bishops, and bishops from that time to this have ordained others to the episcopal office, as from time to time there was a vacancy ; and this is what is called the Apostolical Succession.

At the same time, we are to remember that the real question is not whether the Church of England asserts this doctrine in any particular formulary, but whether she denies it. She admitted it, as no one can deny, *before* the Reformation ; and if she has not denied it subsequently, it must be her doctrine still. The Church of England does not date from the Reformation ; if she did, she would be no church at all. The Catholic Church was at the Reformation not destroyed in this country, but reformed on the principle shown in the text. Medieval corruptions and innovations were repudiated, but the Church remained as she was — Naaman cleansed indeed of his leprosy, but Naaman still ; Naaman with his leprous spots, but with his hands and feet, the same body and the same soul. As in ecclesiastical courts, because the Church is unchanged, the canons which existed before the Reformation are in force, except where contradicted by subsequent enactments ; so is it also with doctrine, and the regulation of our services. It is thus that in some churches the custom prevails of turning to the East when the Creed is rehearsed : a sectarian churchman asks, Where is it appointed ? The answer is, It was the custom of the Church : where is it prohibited ? It is on the same ground that we justify the saying or chanting antiphonally, or the minister saying one verse, the people the other. The suspension of the Church during the great rebellion led to the disuse of many observances which we find to have existed in our Church long after the Reformation

NOTE G.

It may be said that St. Saviour's Church, in Leeds, was erected, and that the services there are conducted, on principles the reverse of those maintained in this Lecture.

St. Saviour's Church was erected in a very desolate region of Leeds by the exertions of one who seemed to be devoted, in all singleness of heart, to the promotion of his Master's glory ; and the author rejoiced in the work, although he was in no way concerned in it after the first stone was laid. He was not consulted, directly or indirectly, during the erection of the church ; and, from the character of the building, and the manner of some who were pre-

sent at its opening, the author would not attend the consecration, until, with more than two thirds of the clergy, he had signed a protest against Romanism.

The founder of the church, having availed himself of the Leeds Vicarage Act, St. Saviour's forms a vicarage distinct from the parish of Leeds, and with the clergy subsequently appointed the author has not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted. But when this Lecture, which was written for delivery before the members of the Church Library at Rochdale, was repeated at the Church Institution at Leeds, one of the clergy of St. Saviour's Church complained that it was an attack upon the principles for which the clergy of that church are responsible. What the principles of the clergy of St. Saviour's can be, except those of our reformed branch of the Church Catholic, the author is at a loss to conceive; for of that branch of the Church they are sworn members. If, however, as the complaint referred to would indicate, there be arising there a tendency to any other doctrine, the author thinks it right to warn his flock that he is not responsible for any opinions promulgated at St. Saviour's. It is an independent vicarage, and the author has been warned by the founder that he has no more concern with it than he has with any parish in London.

THE END.

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POSTSCRIPTUM.

THE last proof of this Lecture had been sent to London, and returned to the printer, when information was brought to me that the Reverend Mr. Macmullen had left St. Saviour's, and had gone over to the papal church, taking with him three other persons. The publication has been delayed that this postscript may be appended to the Lecture.

Although few persons have been more frequently assailed by the so-called religious press than myself, I have never thought it necessary to appear in self-defence. What is thought of me by others, except by those whose kind feelings no calumny can change, is a matter of very little importance, as the Day of Judgment is at hand, when all will be known. But on the present occasion, the accuser of the brethren will doubtless try to represent the perversions at St. Saviour's as the result of the teaching which has been prevalent in Leeds during the last ten years. Out of regard for those good old Church-of-England principles, therefore, I shall add a few remarks to those which have been made in the concluding note.

About three months ago the district of St. Saviour's was constituted a parish and a vicarage, under the Leeds Vicarage Act. Until that time no attempt was made to pervert men to Rome, because the clergy officiating within the district were responsible to me, and I could have put a stop to their proceedings.

But when St. Saviour's became a parish separated from the parish of Leeds, Mr. Macmullen and two other clergymen were sent from Oxford; and from that time there has been a systematic depreciation of the Church of England, and a defence of the Church of Rome: one of the clergy going so far as to say, that to speak against the Church of Rome was a mortal sin, and lamenting that his lot had been cast in the Church of England. A regular system of perversion has been going on.

When I had ascertained the character of the proceedings, I remonstrated with the patrons of the living, and I was warned that I had no more to do with the parish of St. Saviour's than I have with a parish in London; and when I ventured in reply to observe, that I might justly complain when a hornet's nest was planted at my garden gate, the rejoinder was, that what I took for a hornet's nest was a hive of sweet honey. What the honey is events have shown.

With Mr. Macmullen I have had no acquaintance; he did not call upon me on his coming to Leeds, and I informed the Bishop of Ripon of my suspicions in relation to his character. His Lordship declined to grant a license to Mr. Macmullen until he had made further enquiry; but Mr. Macmullen continued to officiate, without the Bishop's license, until his Lordship being informed of the fact prohibited him from officiating in the diocese of Ripon.

The firmness, sound judgment, and considerate kindness of the Lord Bishop of Ripon must be mentioned with gratitude, and, under his Lordship's

direction, we may hope that St. Saviour's may even yet be converted into a blessing to the town of Leeds. It has hitherto been the reverse.

To true-hearted members of the Church of England, the departure of Mr. Macmullen and his disciples is a satisfaction and relief: we may hope that all Romanizers will follow his example. I have no sympathy with the cant of those who urge us to retain such persons in the Church, by permitting them to revile, at will, the principles of the English Reformation. I am told that Mr. Macmullen would have laboured in the Church of England, if he had been permitted to act thus: I rejoice to think that he is gone. When once they honestly declare themselves, these men become, like Mr. Newman, powerless: no one cares for what they say, write, or do. When they come to us as friends, they deceive the unwary. We may regret that those whom we trusted and protected have been perverted, have chosen darkness when they were educated in the light: for their own sake we may feel regret, but as members of the Church we rejoice.

Although I should never again trust the patrons of St. Saviour's Church "*et dona ferentes*," and although I have not hesitated strongly to express to them my feelings on their conduct, it is due to them to say, that I do not believe that their intention was to send men over to Rome; but they would not listen to my remonstrances, or proceed to act when I solemnly called upon them in the name of God to withdraw the clergy they had sent to Leeds. Their answer to me was, that if I suspected them of Romanizing, I

was myself regarded as a Papist by many. It may be so. But, in my declining years, while I have much to regret as regards the past, I have the satisfaction of being able to look back to a life of honest and earnest, if not successful, service to the Church of England, having always acted on the principles of the English Reformation, and I read with complacence the sentence I have placed as the motto on my title-page.

